MEMORIAL

OF

The Ancient, most holy, and Religious State

OF

GREAT BRITAIN:

Flourishing with Apostles, Apostolical Men, Monasteries, Religious Rules, and Orders, in great number in the time of the

BRITAINS;

And Primitive Church of the

SAXONS.

No Rule, nor Order from *Egypt*, or of S. *Benedict*;

Nor of S. *Equitius*, being to be found in her Precincts, in those times.

Collected by the Learned Antiquary, and old Student in divine Learning,

RICHARD BROUGHTON, &c.

Vivens vivens ipse confitebitur tibi, sicut & ego hodie: pater filiis notam faciet veritatem tuam. *Isaiæ* 38.19.

Published by G. L. P.

Permissu Superiorum, 1650.

MEMORIAL

OF

The Ancient, most Holy, and Religious State

OF

ORNAT BRITANNIA

Flourishing with Apostolical

And Primitive Church of the

ÆTERNO

Sacrum

Richardus Broughton, Presbyter *Anglus*

Innocentia morum Angelicus.

Majorum prosapiam, quorum ipse nemini impar

Sacra Functione longè superavit,

Et claro virtutum ingenitarum præconio perennavit,

Derivatam

E nobilissima, in Comitatu Lancastriæ,

Turri-Broughtoniâ;

Stirpibus quidem fœliciſſimâ, in hoc solum infœlici,

Quod vita functos emiserit condendos

Huntingtoniæ

Communi parentum Sepulchro.

Hic plenus dierum de medio excedens,

Quo mortalibus, in omne ævum salutaris esset,

Detersa vulgarium errorum nube,

Antiquariorum sui sæculi exquisitissimus,

Ecclesiasticorum Monumentum,

Aurifodinam,

Hæreditatem omni thesauro pretiosiorem,

Raro scientissimorum virorum, sed optabili

Exemplo

Posteris reliquit; illoſque

XV. Kal. Feb. M. DC. XXXIV.

Lector,

Ut gratus ſies, illi, quam meretur apprecare

Æternitatem.

The Authors Preface to the Judicious READER.

UNderſtanding by divers perſons of worth, (who had no reaſon to amplifie reports) how greedily the firſt arriving Copies of the former part of my printed Hiſtory *were taken up, and how earneſtly more were deſired, (even* Proteſtants, *of beſt judgement & moſt learned, ſignifying their extraordinary approbation of the work) I was not a little encouraged to haſten theſe few ſheets, treating of the ancient* Founders *of divers* Religious Orders *in great* Britain, *and the adjacent* Iſles *before* S. Auguſtins *coming thither; which for the moſt part were Na-*

tives of the ſaid Countries, and no Ægyptian, Benedictin, *nor* Equitian *Monks. In which point, many of the beſt Engliſh* Antiquaries *have not a little erred.*

Wherefore that to Gods glory, and honour of the kingdom, it may be manifeſt what learned and holy men Great Britain *produced in thoſe ancient times; what travel they took to advance piety, and what great encreaſe the heavenly ſeed they ſowed, together with the admirable examples of ſanctity they gave, brought forth among the old inhabitants, of the chief and appendent Iſlands; And that their names ſo long buried in obſcurity, as it were under ground, or only known to few, may be made more illuſtrious to the world, and their grateful memory preſerved to*

ſucceed-

ſucceeding generations: I thought I could no better imploy the remainder of my days, (which by courſe of nature, my age and weakneſs conſidered, cannot be long) then by vindicating ſuch glorious Worthies from hateful oblivion, and dedicating my endeavours to their ſervice. And I *do it the rather, becauſe I hear not of any modern Author labouring in this kind (whether for want of books or other cauſe, I know not) and do find the late Engliſh* Antiquaries *to acknowledge their lack of reading ſuch matters, as I intend to make my ſubject.*

In performance of my undertaking, as my ſpecial care hath been to find out and pitch upon moſt authentical Records *(wherein my diligence hath neither ſpared coſt*

nor labour, as well in forain Countries, as at home, where reaſon ſeemed to promiſe any probable certainty) ſo my only aim hath been to find out the truth, & boldly without fear of offending, (truth cannot be diſpleaſing to any well-affected) or ſtudy to pleaſe, laying aſide all private intereſt, or reſpect to perſons, (truths greateſt enemies) to deliver and propagate to poſterity, what wonderful effects God Almighty wrought by the Miniſtery of thoſe his faithful ſervants: having no other end then the honour of God, who is glorified in his Saints; and the benefit of the well diſpoſed Readers; which I heartily wiſh.

Richard Broughton.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, and moſt Reverend Father in Chriſt, *Richard*, Lord Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, &c.

With the Right Venerable Fathers, his Clergy;

AND

To the Right Reverend, The Engliſh Superiours of Regular Orders, with their Brethren-ſubjects.

THE Learned Antiquaries of Great *Britain*, might claim this poſthumous *Memorial*, as a due return to their ancient *Archive-Rolls*; whence it ſeems to derive its pedigree, and by which it may be beſt judged, whether it was conceived by adultery, or be of a right legitimate extraction?

The preſent relicks of the prime Inhabitants of theirs, once the moſt Potent *Europaan Iſland*,

Iſland, might alſo plead their title to this work. It ſometimes ſpeaks (though perhaps ſtranger-like) their fore-fathers language; their footſteps are in it; the prime ſubject is partly theirs: what was ever after, heroick, and glorious in great *Britain*, making her eminent over other kingdoms, began in them and was but a Copy of their original: to whom therefore ſhould this work be now dedicated rather, then to the preſent Remains of the ancient *Britains*?

But with reaſon, and a willing mind, I paſs by all others, to make the book (ſuch as it is) your Lordſhips, and your Paternities. The major part of the late and preſent Engliſh *Antiquaries*, have been, and ſtill are ſo addicted to Innovation, that I cannot rationally expect they ſhould look otherwiſe on true Antiquities, (no Patrons of their Novelties) then the ancient noble monuments of the *Hebrews* were looked on by *Herod*; who burnt all their old Genealogies he could lay hands on, becauſe they contributed no gentry nor ſplendour to his obſcure and upſtart generation.

Euſeb. l. 1. c. 7.

The preſent rarity of Eccleſiaſtical ancient Manuſcripts through all great *Britain*, (that once above all other Countries, by the vigilancy of her Prelats abounded with them) doth loudly teſtifie, with what *Herodian* looks they met with, ſince the change of the old

old Religion into a new; which, though yet nor new enough, hath been ever ſince the firſt alteration, perpetually renewing her ſelf. And to be leſſe upbraided of her crime, hath brought with her the downfal of the old *Abbies*, and of what was moſt ſacred in *Cathedral Churches*, their written Monuments, which as the mouth of the whole Kingdom, proclaimed her guilty, and condemned her of newneſs. How then could this *Treatiſe* expect a favourable acceptance from ſuch Antiquaries? This *Treatiſe*, I ſay, that in every line almoſt, (all Antiquities do it more or leſs) ſets forth *Biſhops*, *Cathedral Churches*, *Miſſioners* from the *Popes* of *Rome*, either to convert *Pagans*, or to recal *Heretiques* to the *Roman Catholick Religion*; and every where treats of *Monks*, *Nunns*, *Monaſteries*, *Monaſtical Rules*, and *Orders*; then which, nothing more derided by the Engliſh Faiths or Religions of this laſt age, oppoſite to all precedent Chriſtian ages.

The others, I mean the preſent *Britains*, though they glory much in being the ſons of *Abraham*, in the prowèſſes of their noble Progenitors, and exemplarity of their religious predeceſſours, yet either through their unfortunate vicinity to thoſe that are more ſubject to lunary exchanges, then themſelves, or through inconſideration, or the influence of ſome other Malignant cauſes, are Mat. 3. 9.

are gone ſo far off the paths of their Anceſtors, that I may rather pray for their emergency out of the Saxon puddle of *Noveliſme*, into that ſacred profeſſion, whereof they were ancient poſſeſſors, whilſt the *Saxon* was yet an ignorant *Pagan*; then expect welcome to this Treatiſe from the generality of them, as now affected.

Your Lordſhip, and your Paternities, with thoſe of your Schools, are the only true Antiquaries of your Countrey; who whileſt the reſt riot in their *Vertumnals*, poſting out of one new ſhape into another, do conſtantly keep your ſelves to the tread of your forefathers, daily ſacrificing to the *Ancient of days*.

Dan.7.9.

Antiquity is one authentical Record for the tenure of your poſſeſſion: With Antiquity you impugn new doctrines, you abhor corruptions and falſhood. Old *Veritas* is a heavenly Goddeſs to you; you are the legitimate children, whom the divine Providence hath raiſed as ſucceſſors to thoſe Primitive Worthies, *Joſeph* of *Arimathia*, *Elnanus*, *Medwinus*, *Damianus*, *Phaganus*, *Palladius*, *Kentigern*, *Patrick*, *David*, *Auguſtin*, with infinite others their Aſſociats, Diſciples, Adherents. And as their children receiving your Chriſtianity for faith and manners, from hand to hand from them, admiring their auſteri-

Pſal.44.17.

ties,

ties, imitating their exemplar obedience, chastity, and poverty; approving their regularities; aiming at their vertues; and judging your selves so far short of perfection, as you are defective from them, your prototypes, or patterns: So in like manner are you their lawful heirs in the like undertakings for the good of your neighbours; wherein I wish your labours may have as good success in the way of repairing the House of God, as theirs had in laying the first foundations of the old Fabrick.

To you then by all titles, is this short *Memorial* of your forefathers Apostolick Acts, most properly due; long since bequeathed to the Press through my hands by the Collector; once your fellow-Missioner into the sweats and labors of *Christs English Vineyard*; an industrious Student in Divinity, Controversie, and History, well deserved in every of the three kinds: and to say no more of him in this place, one, that truly merited by the great Apostles verdict, a *double honour*: That it hath not come sooner to the publique, I must intreat you to ascribe it to the great alterations that for these late years have pestered *England*, and to the continued adversities, that have ever accompanied my particular, since the Authours death. If

1 Tim. 5. 17.

now

now at length, it meet with your favourable Patronage, it will not much regard what alien anger it may provoke; being not intended to offend any, but to set forth verities and vertues, which all men (though never so far straid from both) profess religiously and seriously to receive; to which end, and to discharge my trust, it is published by

Your Lordships,

&

Your Paternities

most humble servant

in Christ,

G. S.

The

The Publiſhers Advertiſement to the READER.

I Do not commend the ſtyle of this Memorial; *it puts me in mind of the old ſaying, that* in many words, ſome may be well ſpared. *Though it be not long, yet I think it might have been of a more contracted Volume. Had the Author lived to give it a new peruſall himſelf, it had been more grateful to thine. A little more pains of his, had perhaps prevented ſome inſults of the Criticks. Since his death, a better pen might have poliſhed his draught; but I choſe rather to deliver it thee, as I found it, then either to let thee want it, or to let another take the Book from the true Author, by adding elegancy to the ſtyle. I preſume thee able to diſcern betwixt ſubſtance and ceremonies; betwixt the man, and his outward habit. If thou art ſo wiſe, ſome ſuperfluous words or repetitions, will not diminiſh thy reſpect to the main matter. Beſides the* Original *ſome faults are crept into it by uſing a* Copy *for the Preſs; and a friend to overſee the work. I was not willing to venture the* Original *out of my own hands; and Copies ſeldome prove juſt, though intended more then exact; nor could I poſſibly attend the work my ſelf. Some faults*

Prov. 10. 19.

faults thou hast again from the Press it self; the most material whereof, thou hast in an Errata, *over which I beseech thee cast a superficial view, before thou beginnest the Book it self. The others being but either some redundancy of Letters, mis-lettering some words, or mis-pointings; thy skill and courtesie must excuse and pardon. Read it, peruse it, enjoy it, profit by it. Farewel.*

ERRATA.

PAge 12. *line* 28. for grave *read* great. *p.* 23. *l.* 3. for Hos *r* Flos. *p.* 45. *l.* 18. for Borium *r.* Bonium. *p.* 53. in marg. for Ruidburn Cornic, *r.* Ruidburn Chronic. *p.* 59. *l.* 22. after needs do, add till we, &c. *p.* 81. *l.* 19. after Monasterio, add ad Monasterium. *p.* 88. in marg. for Trer, *r.* Trec. *p.* 95. *l.* 15. for expotitam *r.* expetitam. *p.* 107. *l.* 7. for Monichacus *r.* Monachatus, and dele &c. *p.* 109. *l.* 25. after Africk, adde Therefore they contradict themselves. *p.* 114. l. 8. for irruption *r.* by irruption. *p.* 124. *l.* 8. for R *r.* S. *p.* 124. in marg for monasterii, *r.* manuscri. *p.* 131. *l.* 4. for verem *r.* vere. *p.* 146. *l.* 25. *r.* to. *p.* 147. *l.* 10. for (Doctors) *r* (Doctores) *p.* 147. *l.* 16. for Jovam *r.* Jovan. *p.* 147. *l.* 24. for præebus *r.* præbens. *p.* 157. *l. ult.* for S. Benedict Bishop, *r.* S. Benedict Biscop, and so throughout. *p.* 158. *l.* 14. for they were, *r.* till they were. *p.* 167. *l.* 15. add her; *p.* 170. *l.* 18. add *there*; *p.* 175. *l.* 4. for *legius*, *r. longius*; *p.* 181. *l.* 24. for and, *r.* add; *p.* 184. *l.* 10. these words Mycu, or Tymcu, or Fyughn, *Quod latine dicitur Charus vel charissimus meus*, are for the margent, and not for the text: *p.* 184. *l.* 20. for Elwyd, *r.* Clwyd. *p.* 188. *l.* 5. for quasdam, *r.* quosdam. *p.* 210. in marg. prope finem, for Benedict. Epist. *r.* Benedict. Epis. *p.* 246. in marg. for 41. *r.* 1. *p.* 246. *l.* 9. for liverat, *r.* licuerat. *p.* 248. *l.* 13. add when. *p.* 259. *l.* 15. for words, *r.* works. *p.* 273. *l.* 26. *r.* not. *p.* 284. *l.* 15. for 570. *r.* 576. *p.* 285. *l.* 9. for in, *r.* into. *p.* 313. *l.* 11. for honestarum, *r.* honestatem. *p.* 315. *l.* 7. for out of other else, *r.* out of any other place. *p.* 339. *l.* 21. for Wandisous, *r.* Wandiloeus. *p.* 346. *l.* 2. *r.* ictioris. *p.* 363. *l.* 32. for as, *r.* of. *p.* 367. *l.* 27. *r.* logaverit. *p.* 401. *l.* 29. for of, *r. after*; *p.* 407. *l.* 5. for Benefactor; *r.* *Benefactors*.

THE

The first Chapter.

How BRITAIN *first received and embraced the most holy and perfect Christian life and conversation from the Apostles, in the first dayes of Christianity, and so persevered in observing it.*

UNdertaking to make a Memoriall, Relation, or Historty of most of the Ancient, holy, and learned Regular, or Religious men, Orders, and Rules, which have been in, and honoured with their Presence, Preaching, and most perfect exemplar life, this our most Noble Kingdom of great Britaine, rightly and most worthily styled, and recounted in Antiquities, the first Christian, and most holy great Kingdom in the world. I must not omit, but begin with them, who were chief and primate, in this kinde, in the School and *Church of Christ*; and from whom all others, in after and succeeding times, do, and in some manner must, though not in so high and highest perfection, derive their Rules, Orders and holy conversation of life.

The Apostolick and most perfect life brought into, and setled here by the chiefest and greatest Apostles.

Therefore to begin, where, next unto *Christ* himself, this greatest and most perfect life and perfection began; and from whom, and by whom it was spred and dilated into all Kingdoms and Countreys that ever received or embraced it; We must say, Great, and greatest is the honor, glory, renown, and Order of the holy *Apostles* of *Christ* in his holy Church, and sacred Kingdom both on Earth, and in Heaven. Next unto *Christ* himself, it hath the highest office and dignity, to be the Legates and Ambassadors of him; chosen and dignified by himself for the most holy, perfect, and high employment and Ambassage to the most potent and mighty Princes and Potentates of this world, and the whole University thereof; to winn and reclaim them from Error, to Truth; from vice, to vertue; from false, to true Religion, from the state of everlasting damnation in Hell, to eternal glory and felicity in Heaven. In sacred Scriptures and holy Writers, they are styled and honored with these renowned Titles: *The Pillars of the Church; the Garden of delights; Doctors of the New-Testament; twelve precious stones; more learned then the Prophets or Patriarches; the Foundations and Pillars of the Church; next after Christ, our Doctors; the gates of Hierusalem; the chief Priests of the Church; the Primates of Saints; the Ministers of the word of Christ; instructed by vertue of the*

holy

holy Ghost; the Temples of God; his chosen, chief, and dearest friends, replenished with heapes of all vertues, their faith and life to be imitated by us: and the like. Whatsoever is most perfect, excellent to be professed, and followed in this life, this most sacred Order and institution had it in the highest degree. And as it was the first in the Church of *Christ*, so was it the most perfect imitation of him, beginning by a most holy conversation with him, and under his approbation; he ordering the greatest perfection for those whom he destinated to the highest end. And as they were the closest and most immediate followers of *Christ* therein, so must they be the most perfect, excellent, and meritorious that can be in this life; observing not onely the perfection of forsaking the world, and thereby doing good to themselves, by leaving all things, except the loss or daily adventure of their lives, as in other not Apostolick Orders; but of preaching to such as were in errors of Infidelity; daily forsaking, or adventuring their lives also, to convert such to Christ, and his most holy and perfect Religion. That which Christ said, *Nisi quis renunciaverit omnibus quæ possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus*; *Except a man renounce all, which he possesseth, he cannot be my Disciple*; belongeth to other Orders, not Apostolick. But what *Christ* delivered to Matth. 16.

Matth. *ult.* his Apoſtles, *If any man will follow me, let him deny himſelf, and take his croſs, and follow me:* and, *Going into all the world, preach the Goſpell to all creatures,* was proper to them, and the reſt of his Diſciples, and thoſe of ſuch Order and profeſſion.

Marc. *ult.*

Greg. hom. 32. in Evangel. Breviar. Rom. in Feſt. com. Martyris, And thus both Saint *Gregory* and the Church of Chriſt expound, and apply theſe words of his; *Quid in hac lectione dicat, audiamus; qui vult venire poſt me, abneget ſemetipſum; ibi dicitur, ut abnegemus noſtra; hic dicitur ut abnegemus nos: Et fortè laborioſum non eſt homini relinquere ſua; ſed valde laborioſum eſt relinquere ſemetipſum. Minus quippe eſt abnegare quod habet; valde autem multum eſt abnegare quod eſt.* Let us hear what he ſaith in this Leſſon; *He that will come after me, let him deny himſelf. There it is ſaid that we ſhould deny our goods, here it is ſaid that we ſhould deny our ſelves: And peradventure it is not a laborious thing for a man to leave his goods; but it is a very laborious thing for a man to leave himſelf: for it is a leſs thing for a man to deny what he hath; but it is exceeding much for a man to deny what he is.* This is the greateſt love and perfection by Chriſts own teſtimony:

Joan. 15. *Majorem hac dilectionem nemo habet quam ut animam ſuam ponat pro amicis ſuis.*

Of this moſt holy Order and Convent after Chriſt, Saint *Peter*, (*Clavicularius regni cœleſtis*, on whom, as a Rock, the Church

Church was founded by Christ, and who was Shepheard of his fould) had chief charge being appointed to lead his sheep and Lambs, and was by death, as by life, to follow his Master in his holy Office. he was chief Governor, Ruler, *Princeps Apostolorum*, and director of this most perfect Colledg and Order: He kept it first at *Hierusalem*, where it was founded and instituted, as far as time and place, then, and there, for persecution, would permit a great Christian company, or multitude to live Monastically, or in community, without propriety; as both holy Scriptures and Fathers do prove unto us: *Multitudinis autem credentium erat cor unum, & anima una, nec quisquam eorum, quæ possidebant, aliquid suum esse dicebat, sed erant illis omnia communia.* And as *S. Isidor*, with others proveth: *Horum institutione Monasteria sumspêre principia.* Monasteries took their beginning from the institution of those; and the first, or chiefest kinde of Monasticall, or cœnobiticall men living in community, is according to the example of these holy men, who, in the times of the Apostles at *Hierusalem*, dwelt together in holy communion of life, not calling any thing their own, but all things were common unto them; and one minde and one heart towards God. *Primum genus est Canobitarum, id est, in communi viventium, instar Sanctorum illorum, qui temporibus*

Act. Apost. c. 2. 4. Hieron. l. de Script. Eccles. in S. Marc.

Isidor. Hispal. lib. 2. de Eccles. Offic. cap. 15.

Monasteries and Monks deduced from the Apostles life and conversation.

ribus Apostolorum Hierosolymis, venditæ ac distributa omnia sua dabant indigentibus, qui habitabant in Sancta communione vitæ non dicentes aliquid propriam; sed erant illis, omnia communia, & anima una, & cor unum in Deum. Horum igitur institutione Monasteria sumpsêre principia.

And when S. *Peter* came to seat himself at *Antioch*, where, as Saint *Luke* witnesseth, the Disciples of Christ were first called Christians; *ita ut cognominarentur primum Antiochiæ Discipuli Christiani*; there we finde also an holy Colledg, or Monastery of Priests, *Sanctorum Presbyterorum Collegium*, testified by Saint *Ignatius* his successor in that place, and first saluted by him, as the chief glory and honor of Christians there, *Saluto sanctum Presbyterorum Collegium*; so to the *Philippenses*, *saluto S. Æpiscopum vitalium, & sacrum Presbyterorum Collegium*; so to the *Philadelphines*, *unus Æpiscopus cum Presbyterorum Collegio*; so to the *Smyrnenses*, *omnes Æpiscopum sequimini ut Christum Patrem*; *& Presbyterorum Collegium ut Apostolos*; so to the *Magnesians*; so to the *Æphesians*, *obedientes Æpiscopo & Presbytero mente indivulsa*; so to the *Trallians*, *Æpiscopus Typum Dei Patris omnium gerit, Presbyteri vero, sicut concessus quidem, & conjunctus Apostolorum Cœtus.* And, *quid verò sacerdotium aliud est quam sacer Cœtus, consiliarii, & Assessores Æpiscopo?*

Act. 11. Ignatius Epist. ad Magnesia.

Leo Bap. Sermon. 1. de ss. Apost. Pet. & Paul.

S. Ignat. Epis. ad Antioch.

S. Ignat. Epis. ad Philip.

Epist. ad Philadel.

Epist. ad Smyrnens.

Epist. ad Magnes.

Epist. ad Ephes.

Epist. ad Tralleam.

And

And to the *Philadelphians*, he proveth it was so in all Episcopall Churches, *unum altare omni Ecclesiæ & unus Episcopus, cum Presbyterorum Collegio, & Diaconis conservis meis.* Thus we see this Apostolical observation, generall then in the East, by so great Testimony. Epist. ad Philadel.

Afterwards Saint *Peter*, this Prince and Primate of the sacred Colledg of the Apostles, and chief Institutor of such foundations, at *Jerusalem* and *Antioch*, and the East, coming to Rome to settle his Apostolick highest *See* there, and to found, and govern the Westerne Church also; must needs bring this sacred Institution, not only to the *Romanes*, but also to other Westerne Nations, and amongst them to our *Britains*, and if we will be directed by either Romane or British, ancient or later, Catholick or Protestant Antiquaries; we must needs give the Primacy of this honor to our noble *Britains*, who were then in Rome, to be the first entertainers both of Saint *Peter*, and this sacred manner of life, in the house of our British *Claudia* and her renowned husband S. *Pudens* there, wherein there were almost 100. Religious Christians of Britains and others; the Rulers of the house converted and baptized by Saint *Peter*; and their house even by the Romanes grant and tradition, being the first lodging and place of receiving Saint *Peter* in that City. There the Christians, Britaines Traditio Roman.

Baronius Annotat. martyrol. in S. Pud. 19 Maii.

Britaines, and others first assembled to serve God, and had their Church. *Majorum firma traditione, præscriptum est Domum Pudentis Romæ fuisse primum Hospitium S. Petri, Principis Apostolorum, illicq; primum Christianos convenisse ad Synaxim, coactam Ecclesiam, vetussimumq; omnium Titulum Pudentis nomine appellatum, qui item & Pastoris nomine dictus reperitur.* Saint *Paul* also maketh noble memory of the Christian owners of this house, saluting Saint *Timothy*, *Salutant te Eusebius, & Pudens, & Linus, & Claudia*, which *Eusebius*, by writers in that time, was *Socer Pudentis*, father in Law to *Pudens*, and so father to his wife *Claudia*; and consequently a noble Britain of this Nation, one of those nobles that were carryed hence, to be Hostages there to the Emperor in the time of *Claudius*; and so either owner of, or not a stranger in this house, of his son in Law, and daughter, *Pudens*, and *Claudia*. *Linus* successor to Saint *Peter* is also here joyned with them, as an Inhabitant, or great acquaintance there, as Saint *Paul* also was, and all these Popes of Rome, S. *Peter*, S. *Linus*, S. *Cletus*, S. *Clement*, S. *Anacletus*, S. *Euaristus*, S. *Alexander*, S. *Sixtus*, S. *Telesphorus*. S. *Hyginus*, and S. *Pius*; by whom it was consecrated a Church, all the holy children of our Noble *Claudia*, S. *Tymotheus*, S. *Novatus*, S. *Pudentiana*, S. *Praxedes*, there living

Timoth. 2.4. Martyrol. Roman. 20. Junii in S. Pudent. S. Novat. S. Praxed. S. Pudentiana. Red. Usuard. Ado. & alii in eisdem. Mat. Parker. Antiquit. Britan. in initio. Goodwin conversion of Britain.

living religiously, with a great number of holy religious Christians of this Kingdome, and others.

Moreover we finde Saint *Peters* coming hither into Britaine, and that staying a long time, he brought many Nations to the faith, illuminated many, founded Churches, and ordained Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: *Quo loco cum longo tempore fuisset moratus, & multas gentes attraxisset ad fidem Christi, verbo gratiæ multos illuminasset, & Ecclesias construxisset, Episcopos q; & Presbyteros & Diaconos ordinasset duodecimo anno Cæsaris Neronis rursus Romam revertitur*: Beeing here admonished of his Martyrdome, by an holy Angel, to be performed at Rome, and his return thither to accomplish it; after he had thus ordered, and settled our Brittish Church with such perfection. These holy Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, thus consecrated and instituted here by Saint *Peter*, in those Churches he founded, not having any certain temporall maintenance, could not live in any other manner, or order, then such as they had learned of so noble a Master. And Saint *Gregory*, styled the Apostle of England, with others, witnesseth sufficiently, that the first Apostles, and Apostolick Bishops, and Clergy of our Britains and Britain, lived in this most excellent state of Apostolick perfection; and prescribeth them for example,

Simon Metaphrast. Eusebius apud eundem & alij.

These first Bishops of Britain with their Clergies did live thus in community.

S. Gregor. in responsi. ad interrogat. Saint Augustin. Bed. Histor. Capgran. in S. Augus.

to

to Saint *Auguſtine*, and other Biſhops here of the *Saxons*, with their Prieſts and Clergy, to imitate, and follow; when S. *Auguſtine* demanded his direction, how our firſt Engliſh Biſhops ſhould here converſe with their Clergies: *De Epiſcopis qualiter cum ſuis Clericis converſentur?* This he preſcribeth them to live Apoſtolically in perfection, as our firſt Brittiſh Biſhops, Prieſts, and Clergy did. *Fraternitas tua monaſterii Regulis erudita, ſeorſum fieri non debet à Clericis ſuis, in Eccleſia Anglorum, quæ Auctore Deo nuper adhuc ad fidem adducta eſt, hanc debet converſationem inſtituere, quæ initio naſcentis Eccleſiæ fuit Patribus noſtris, in quibus nullus eorum, ex his quæ poſſidebant, aliquid ſuum eſſe dicebat; ſed erant eis omnia communia.* Whence it is evident, that in the beginning of our Brittiſh Church, the firſt in this part of the world, and founded by the Prince of the Apoſtles, Director to all Churches, Saint *Peter*; this life of Apoſtolike community, without any propriety to any ſuch man, was obſerved: and *nullus*, not any one ſuch man had propriety; Biſhop, Prieſt, Deacon, or other Clergy-man.

Auguſt. in interrogat ad S. Gregor. Beda. & Capgrau. ſup. & Gregor. reſponſ. ad Interrogat. S. Auguſt.

Saint *Paul* alſo, that other greateſt Apoſtle, both preached, and taught; both by word, writing, and example, this moſt perfect life and profeſſion in this Kingdome, and ſufficiently expreſſeth in his own ſufferings, and laborsfor *Chriſt*; how much this moſt

most glorious, and perfect state, and condition is more happy, excellent, & meritorious, above another monasterial, or monasticall life or profession in this world: When he saith of himself, that he had been *in laboribus plurimis, in carceribus abundantius, in plagis supra modum, in mortibus frequenter*, *in very many labors, in prisons more abundantly, in stripes above measure, in deaths often*; *he had five times received of the Jews fourty stripes except one*; *thrice beaten with rods, once stoned, thrice, made shipwrack, was a day and night in the bottom of the Sea, in journies often, in dangers of rivers, in dangers of theeves, in dangers of his own kindred, in dangers of Gentiles, dangers of City, dangers in wildernesse, dangers in Sea, dangers in false brethren; in labor and misery, in many watchings, in hunger and thirst, in many fastings, cold, and nakednes*: *Besides those things that be extrinsecal, daily instance, care of all Churches*, and many such dangers, troubles, & afflictions ordinarily, or always attending Apostolike men, and their profession in such times, places, and among such persons, and persecutors, Pagans, Jews, Heretikes. The least, and every one of which in particular, maketh a man, even by Christs own testimony, blessed; and heir to eternall Blessednes. *Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam*, *Blessed are they that suffer persecution for justice, for theirs is the* 2. ad Corinth. 11.

Mat. 5.

King

Kingdom of Heaven; *Blessed are you, when men shall curse you, and persecute you, and speak all evil against you, lying, for my sake; be glad, and rejoyce, because your reward is great in Heaven.* This last, and greatest blessedness, and beatitude, is, as it were particular, and proper to Apostolick men; and such as participate, & suffer for the same holy cause with them; making them most happy Confessors, and Martyrs. The other Beatitudes, *blessed be the poor in spirit*; *blessed be the meek*; *blessed be they that mourn*; *blessed be they that hunger and thirst after Justice*; *blessed be the mercifnl*; *blessed be they of clean heart*; *blessed be the peacemakers*, may be participated, and enjoyed of other religious; as of these, and other holy men: But this greatest, and highest Beatitude, is the singular right and due of Apostolick men, suffering persecution for Christ and Truth as he did; and cannot be taken from them, either on Earth or Heaven; but is and ever will be their everlasting honor, and happiness. This Apostolick State, and Order, is a State of Martyrs: other monasticall orders only of Confessors (though out of them som become also glorious Martyrs) This was well known unto Saint *Gregory* the grave Apostle of England, the great Doctor of Christs Church, and as Protestant Antiquaries stile him, *the most holy and learned Pope, that ever was*: This he practised in himself, and both proposed, and urged it to others, his

Joan. Bal. lib. de Pontificibus Roman. in Gregorio.
Bed. hist. Eccle.
Joan. Diacon in vit. S. Greg.
Capgrau. in S. August. Breviar. Eccl. Angli. in S. Greg.

his deareſt Diſciples and friends. He was much devoted to Monaſtical life: and ſo much, that what he could he refuſed, and avoyded to be Pope, rather chooſing Monaſtical life: yet had a longing, and earneſt deſire to come to preach in *England*, and obtained it of *Pope Benedictus*, by great ſuite: but the Romans then hindred him therein.

But ſo ſoon as he was Pope, and of power to effect that his holy intent: he ſent many of his learned Diſciples, and Monks of his Monaſtery hither, to perform that holy duty. And they being terrified upon the way, with labors, perils and dangers, like to befall them in ſuch an Apoſtolick voyage: and deſiring to return to their quiet Monaſticall life: he encouraged them to perſiſt in that Apoſtolick work, not to be afraid of the dificulties: but to look rather to the greater glory of reward, for the great labors, and difficulties, they were to undergo. So he wrote unto them: *Summo ſtudio, dilectiſſimi filii, oportet, ut bonum opus, quod auxiliante Domino, capiſtis, impleatis; nec labor ergò vos itineris, nec maledicorum hominum lingua deterreant; ſed omni inſtantia, omnique fervore, quæ inchoaſtis, Deo Auctore, peragite; ſcientes, quòd laborem magnum, major æternæ retributionis gloria ſequatur.* And this moſt holy, and learned monaſtical Man was ſo far from preferring monaſtical

Gregor. Epiſt. ad Monah. & Bed. Capgrav. ſup.

The greateſt perfection of Apoſtolick preaching life.

nastical life before being a Priest, and performing priestly offices; even in settled Parishes, where no fears, terrors or such troubles were; that in time of want of Parish Preists, he sent order, and direction to Bishop *Candidus*, to visit the Monasteries in his Dioceſs, and take such Monks as were worthy to be Priests, out of their Orders, and Monasteries, and make them Parish Preists. Where it is made a matter of greater merit, and perfection to teach, preach, and minister Sacraments, even in quiet times and places in Parish Churches, not without temporal preferment, or maintainance, by so proving a mans love to God, and his neighbour, as himself, then to live in Monastical conversation, with love to God, and himself; his neighbour so left unremembred. Then, much more must this priestly Dignity, joyned with Apostolick life, state, and perfection, enduring all crosses and afflictions for the love of God, and Truth; and loving others spiritual good and happiness, better then his own life, and security; be most holy, and perfect. And therefore, as St, *Gregory*, our Apostle, behaved himself herein, in sending many Preachers, Apostolick men, from his own Monastery hither; so did other holy Popes before, even from our first conversion to Christ, send such hither also, from their monastical life, and Monasteries, to teach, and preach

Gregor. Epist. lib. 5. cap. 127.

preach true Religion in this Kingdom: not differing from the greatest Apostles herein, St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*; but that they honored not this noble Nation, with, and in their own personal Presence; as those most glorious Apostles did, both personally preaching, teaching, and converting many here to holy life, and Religion. And (even our Protestant Antiquaries, so confessing) left divers Apostolick holy men here, continuing a happy succession of such, even to the time of King *Lucius*, and the conversion of this Kingdom in his time, and after.

Jo. Bal. lib. de Scrip. centur. in Lucio pio in Elvano & Madvino. Goscilin. Hist. Matth. Park. Antiq. Brian. intio.

Our holy Bishops with their Clergys here, lived as the Apostles lived at *Jerusalem*, at *Antioch*, at *Philippis*, at *Philadelphia*, among the *Smirnicans*, *Tradians*, *Magnesians*; as at *Ephesus*, as at *Rome*, and *Alexandria*: *habebant omnia communia*; they lived with their Priests in community, without propriety, of oblations offered and given unto them: and in those very daies our Kings themselves, though not Christians; for their admirable Sanctity, gave rents, and lands unto them, for such living in community; as we finde at *Glastenburge*; where the Antiquaries testifie, there was a holy Bishop St. *Joseph*, son of St. *Joseph* of *Armathea*, thus living in community with his brethren, by the first maintenance and foundation. And where there was no such provision here, nor the Lands of *Flamins*,

Antiqui. Glastoniens. Antiquitat. Wintonien.

mins, and *Arch-flamins*, yet given to Cathedral Churches: where Saint *Aristobulus* our Bishop and Martyr, and our other Bishops consecrated by Saint *Peter* the Apostle, lived with their Priests and Clergyes: they must needs live here in community. And Pope *Urbanus* the first, in the yeer 222. proveth all Bishops so lived with their Clergyes then; and decreeth, (which others also testify,) that the Oblations of the faithful, should be left to the Bishops and their Churches thus to be imployed: *Extat ejus Epistola decretalis ad vniversos Episcopos Paulino Spiritu digna, per quam statuit, ut Oblationes fidelium relinquantur Ecclesiis Matricibus dispensandæ per Episcopos*: where his Epistle, being to all Bishops, maketh the Decree general, for all places: and this not onely to take effect, and to be observed after; but there proveth, that use to have been so generally kept, and received before, which was at *Jerusalem* in the Apostles times, to sell all, and leave the receipts at the Apostles feet to such holy end. The use, and custome presently then entered, the better, to provide, both for present, and future times: *ceperunt prædia, & agros, quos vendere solebant, Matricibus Ecclesiis tradere*: to give to Bishops Churches, the Farmes and grounds, which they were wont to sell; and the Bishops ministred out of them, to those, that lived in community;

omnibus

Urbanus 1. Papa. Epist decretal. ad universos Episcopos, Tom. 1. Concil.

14. q. 1. Videntes autem Barthol. Carranza sum. Concil. in Urb. 1.

omnibus communem vitam degere volentibus: And thus, all things were in the power of the Bishops, holding the place of the Apostles; and so they continued in S. *Urbanus* his time; and he decreed that they should ever so continue. *Ipsa verò rei in ditione singularum Parochiarum Episcoporum; (qui locum tenent Apostolorum) erant, & sunt usque adhuc, & futuris semper debent esse temporibus.* And sure we are, that this holy and Apostolical custom, and decree to continue, and confirmed; were, and must needs be observed in all times, and places of persecution, in which S. *Urbanus* Pope, and many other holy Popes, and Bishops, glorious Martyrs lived, and continued; when we cannot easily find, how they lived otherwise.

Therefore we cannot doubt, but our first primitive Bishops, Priests, and Clergy men, here consecrated, and ordained by S. *Peter*, the greatest Apostle, thus lived, as he, and the other Apostles, and Apostolick men then did, in community, without propriety: So that, if we should with *Philo* and S. *Hierom* hold, That S. *Mark* the Evang. did thus live wth the primitive Christians at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. *Quomodo* Lucas *narrat*, Hierosolymæ *credentes, omnia habuisse communia, sic &* ille Philo (*desertissimus Judæorum*) *quod* Alexandriæ *sub* Marco *Doctore fieri cernebat, memoriæ tradidit.* Yet we must say, That

Britain received this most holy life before Alexandria in Egypt; *Hieron. lib. de Eccles. Scriptoribus in Sancto Marco: Philo. ibid.*

S. *Peter*, who sent S. *Mark* into *Egypt*, long after his coming to *Rome*, & these countries, practised and taught that most holy Apostolick life and conversation in these parts, and honoured *Brittain* with that glory before *Alexandria* in *Egypt* enjoyed it. And *Britain* did not then *Judayize*, nor left that holy life, and faith in Christ, but ever persevered, continued, & encreased therein. And our Apostle S. *Peter*, who was then sender of S. *Mark*, and the greatest Apostle; and S. *Paul* extraordinarily called to be an eminent Apostle, honoured this Nation with their presence, preaching, founding our Church, and here planting, and setling this most holy Order and Institution.

The Second Chapter.

S. Joseph of Arimathea (that buried Christ) with many Disciples coming hither with him, in the 63. year of Christs Nativity lived thus Monastically at Glastenbury, founding and leaving such holy Institution there.

THe History of that thrice noble and renowned *Decurio*, S. *Joseph* of *Arimathea* (who buried Christ) sent hither by S. *Philip* the Apostle, with his twelve Disciples, seating themselves in the year of Christs Nativity 63. at *Glastenbury* in *Somersetshire*, and there leading their whole life in Monastical Order, Discipline, and profession, is famous both with old and later Antiquaries; friends and enemies of that most holy conversation. Our old Antiquaries of *Glastenbury*, where they lived and dyed in this holy state of perfection; and other great witnesses prove unto us, That these were of that most sacred

The Monasticall life and Order of S. *Joseph* of Arimathea (who buryed Christ) & his Associates in Britain.

Apoſtolick company, and ſociety, which I have before remembred from S. *Luke* the Evangeliſt, and others; to have firſt lived thus in community after the death, and aſcention of Chriſt, *Eratque omnibus cor unum & anima una* with the Apoſtles; and then received the miraculous Gift to underſtand, and ſpeak al tongues with them; *ſcientiam omnium linguarum tribuendo.* And after the perſecution and diſperſion of the Apoſtles into the world, they joyned with, and were Diſciples unto S. *Philip* the Apoſtle, that preached unto the *Scythians*, yet were preſent with the Apoſtles, eſpecially S. *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, at the death and aſſumption of the bleſſed Virgine *Mary*; coming, and were ſent hither by S. *Philip*, the ſaid holy Apoſtle into this our *Britain* to preach the word of life, in the year after Chriſts paſſion 31. and our Ladies aſſumtion 15. *Philippus regionem Francorum adiens gratiâ prædicandi, plures ad fidem convertit & Baptizavit. Volens igitur verbum Chriſti dilatari, duodecim de ſuis Diſcipulis ad Evangelizandum verbum miſit in* Britaniam, *anno ab incarnatione Domini 63. anno poſt paſſionem Domini 31. poſt Aſſumptionem glorioſæ virginis 15.* What *Francks*, or *Ganles* theſe were, to whom S. *Philip* the Apoſtle preached? both the Church of *Rome*, and others in the Office, and life of S. *Philip* the Apoſtle ſhew, plainly proving they

Antiq. Glaſtō. tabulis ligneis affix. in membran. Freculp. Hiſt. l. 2 c. 4. Guliel. Malmesb. lib. de antiq. Cœnob. Glaſton. MS.

they were the *Asiatical Francks*; and that S. *Philip* sent these his holy Disciples hither from those *Francks*, and not from any *Francks* in this part of the world, in our neighbouring *France*: where then, and long after, there were no *Francks*, though afterwards they confess their coming from the *Sicambrian Francks*; where, and to whom S. *Philip* preached, and never near to our *France* or *Gallia*. *Cum ei* Scythia *ad prædicandum Evangelium obtigisset, omnem fere illam gentem ad Christianam fidem convertit. Postremò cum Hierapolim Phrigiæ venisset, pro Christi nomine cruci affixus lapidibusque obrutus est Kalendis* Maij. Which our old historian, and Abbot of *Croyland*, *Ingulphus*, thus glosseth, and maketh plain from the old *Francks* themselves. *Beatus enim Christi Apostolus* Philippus, *cum Scythis verbum Dei prædicasset, & plurimos eorum ad fidem Christi convertisset, rediens in* Asiam *per Sicambros viam fecit, ac illis Christi nomen primus annunciavit, de quibus exeuntes* Franci, *ut plures eorum Hierocronographi testantur, Beatum* Philipum *Apostolum, suum specialem, protodoctorem, & Neopostolum adhuc tenent.* The blessed Apostle of Christ, S. *Philip*, when he had preached the word of God to the *Scythians*, and converted very many of them to the Faith of Christ, returning into *Asia*, made his way by the *Sicambers*, and was the first

Breviar. Rom. in S. Philippo Apostolo.
Brev. Eborc. & Sarum in eod.
Ingulphus hist

that declared the name of Christ to them, from whom the *Franks* going forth, as many of their Ecclesiastical Chroniclers do witness; they hold S. *Philip* the Apostle for their special first Teacher, and new Apostle.

S. *Joseph* and his Associates lived in community obedience and chastity, without Propriety.

That these holy Apostolick men lived in holy community without appropriation, both their first conversing with the Apostles who so lived, and afterwards with S. *Philip* so living; and again their setling themselves here, where they had nothing but what a King, yet an Infidel, gave them to live in community, for their holiness of life, sufficiently prove.

Their obedience unto a Superiour, one, or more, is evident: for all antiquities agree, that *Joseph* of *Arimathea* was ordained their Abbot, or Superiour by S. *Philip* the Apostle. Philippus *duodecim ex suis Discipulis elegit, quos misit in* Britaniam *ad prædicandum verbum vitæ, & super singulos manum dexteram devotissimè extendit; his autem præfecit Amicum suum* Joseph *ab* Arimathia, *qui Dominum sepelivit.* So read the old Benedictine Monks, *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *Frecnlphus.* So the old antiquities of *Glastenbury* fixed upon great bordes: so the *Cambridge* antiquities of that holy place: so our old Poet in our old Chronicles.

Antiquit. Glastoni Freculp. Gul. Malmesb. lib. de Antiq. Cœnobii Glastonienſ. & alii.

Intrant

Intrant Avalloniam duodena caterva virorum,
Hos Arimathiæ Joseph *est primus eorum.*
Josephes *ex* Joseph *genitus patrem comitatur.*
His aliisque decem jus Glastoniæ *propriatur.*

In some of these antiquities, it is delivered, that S. *Joseph* the Son, was miraculously designed by Christ, for a Bishop, and is recounted as a Superiour to that holy company with him; but whether in his Fathers life time, or to be so after his death, is not so certainly declared: but all agree, they lived there Apostolically, and Monastically in obedience, chastity, and community, without propriety; daily, and often every day assembling in their Church to divine service from their Cels. *Duodecim sancti supra memorati in eodem loco Deo, ac Beatæ Virgini devota exhibentes obsequia, vigiliis, jejuniis, & orationibus vacantes, ejusdem virginis Dei genitricis auxilio in necessitatibus suis refocillabantur.* And, *in vetustam Ecclesiam ad divina obsequia devotiùs complenda, crebrò convenerunt quotidie.* Where we see it sufficiently and plainly manifest, That these holy Saints lived Monastically in that holy place; and that was their Monastical house, or Monastery; and so it is registred, and stiled in our antiquities, by all Antiqua-

ries, even those that be enemies to such holy conversation: yea by the chiefest of them, whose authority hath been used for none but *Egyptian* Monks anciently, and before *Benedictines*, in this religious kingdom: His words are thus plain of this holy place. *In this Isle of* Avalon *flourished the famous Abbie of* Glastenbury, *the begining whereof is very ancient, fetched even from that* Joseph *of* Arimathea, *who interred the body of Jesus Christ, and whom* Philip *the Apostle of the* Gaules, *sent into* Britain *for to preach Christ. For thus much both the most ancient Records, and monuments of this Monastery testifie. And also* Patrick *the* Irish *Apostle (who lived there a Monk for thirty years) in an Epistle of his left to memory. Whereupon this place was by our Ancestors, named, The first land of God, the first land of Saints in* England; *the begining and Fountain of all Religion in* England; *the Tomb of Saints: the Mother of Saints: the Church founded, and built by the Lords Disciples*: So they testifie in their Theatre, and say, Glastenbury *Abby given to* Joseph *by* Arviragus, and plainly affirm, that by this *England* is rightly called, *The Parent, or Mother Monastery of all* Europe. And others of them plainly affirm, *In this Island (then called* Avalon) Joseph *and his fellowes were the first beginners of that famous Monastery, in which,* Joseph, *after the course of his life finished,*

Cambd. Brit. Belgæ Somersetshire, pag. 226. Edit. anno 1610.

Theatre of great Britain. p. 81. Edit. ann. 1623.

Godwin conv. of Britain c. 2. p. 9. Bal. lib. de Scriptor Angl. centur. 1. c. 22.

finished, Ann. 76. *was buried.*

And these authors make not any discontinuance of those Monastical men there, but say, they continued there until the conversion of *Britain* in King *Lucius* his time, thus plainly affirming, that *Eluanus* and *Medwinus*, whom King *Lucius* sent to Pope *Eleutherius*, about the conversion of this Kingdom, were of that Monastery, or Abby of *Glastenbury*. *And from hence were those two divine Doctors sent to* Eleutherius *by King* Lucius, *as by their Epithets doth appear: the one of them called* Eluanus Avalonius, *or of* Glastenbury, *and the other,* Medwynus *of* Belga, *that is* Wells, *near unto this place.* And that they were baptized and instructed by those first Apostolick men, *per Apostolicos viros in Christo renati, adeo Scripturis Sacris operam dederunt, ut in dispensandis Dei ministeriis, inter primos haberentur,* and are stiled by these men, *Britannorum Doctores, & in* Britannia *nati, scientiam habebant cum eloquentia, non infeliciter conjunctam. Per eos, ut per illos, qui eandem ipsi fidem sapiùs inculcassent, literis suis Rex* Lucius *ad* Eleutherium *Pontificem egit, ut apud* Romanos *Christianorum ascriberetur numero*: *Doctors of the* Britains, *born in* Britain, *learned and eloquent; by whom, as by them, who had often taught the same faith to him before*: *King* Lucius *by his Letters to Pope* Eleutherius, *desired to be adjoyned*

This Order of Religion at Glastenbury continued in K. *Lucius* his time, and after.

Protest. Theat. of great Brit. Jo. Bal. lib. de Scrip Britan. in Eluano & Medwino.

to

to the number of Christians with the Romans, which was procured by these mens happy Embassage: the King and whole Kingdom being converted by such Apostolick Legates, and preachers, as that holy Pope sent hither: the chiefest of them S. *Damianus*, and *Phaganus* with others, being holy Monks, and here preserving Monastical life and profession in *Glastenbury*. And by these most worthy Christian Embassadors, S. *Eluan*, and S. *Medwin*, the first being sacred *Arch-bishop* of *London*, and the later, an *Apostolick* Doctor, and teacher here; and by others here still continuing in succession from our first *Apostles*: both our King and Kingdom of great *Britain* were gloriously made the first holy Christian King, and Kingdom in the world. Yet as we find recorded in the old antiquities of holy *Glastenbury*, the first Disciples of S. *Philip* the *Apostle*, S. *Joseph*, and his religious company, converted many Pagans to the Faith of Christ; who being baptized were buried there: and for their great multitude, their number was not known. *Multi ex Paganis per eos ad fidem Christi converſi, ac baptizati ibidem requieſcunt; quorum propter multitudinem non eſt numerus.* Of so great a multitude not to be numbered, that were converted by these our first *Apostolick* men in those parts, and so many of them buried there: we must needs

Antiquitates Glastonienses.

needs consent, that many of them being but young, at the time of their conversion, and at the death of their *Apostles*, living near this time, were still living, and imitated their holy Teachers in their perfect life: such as these Protestant Writers before have delivered, S. *Eluan* and *Medwin* to have been.

And except the Protestant Writers and others, with their authors, are much deceived in themselves, and so wrong, and deceive their Readers, whilest so constantly they deliver that these holy learned *Britains*, were so long before the conversion of King *Lucius*, come to that perfection of learning, that they were become Teachers, and instructers even of their King, as well as of others, in the Faith of Christ; and were assigned Legates for our perfect conversion to that holy Pope; we must needs say, they had more, and many fellows, and associates *Britains*, perfectly instructed in holy Doctrine, and Religion: and again, that their learned Tutors, and Instructors, must be of an old and long continuance here, and consequently that *Britain* never had, nor could have, or suffer any the least want, or intermission of such Masters, and Scholars in the School of holy Christian learning, and Religion here.

For no man can rationally imagine, that *Eluanus* and *Medwinus* were onely, and singular

ſingular here, at, or about *Glaſtenbury*; from whence (to ſpeak in our Proteſtant Antiquaries words) *were thoſe two divine Doctors, ſent to* Elutherius *by King* Lucius: and *two Divines ſent by* Lucius *to* Rome, *from* Glaſtenbury.

The

The Third Chapter.

Britain *had, in diverſe other places, Monaſticall men, and Monaſteries of thoſe times, by our beſt Proteſtant Antiquaries, and their Authors, before* Egypt *had any ſuch.*

OUr Proteſtant Antiquaries in their publick Hiſtory of great *Britain*, naming it the *Theater* thereof; with the allowance, and conſent of theſe Proteſtant Teſtators, or the chiefeſt of them; and others, their beſt allowed Antiquaries, continue our firſt Chriſtian Religion, and Monaſticall converſation here, in other ſucceeding times, and places, much different, and remote from *Glaſtenbury* in this Kingdome; untill it had both Imperiall and regall allowance, to be received, and embraced, and publickly profeſſed. And thus (having ſpoken before of our firſt Preachers, and Religious men here) they add. *As hitherto we have ſearched the firſt foundation of our Faith;*

Proteſt. Theater of great Britain lib. 6. ca. 9. ſec. 18.

Faith; ſo neither want we teſtimonies concerning the continuance of the ſame in this Land, unto following Poſteritie; although the injurie of Time, and Warr have conſumed many Records. For the Britains *that were daily ſtrengthened in their received Faith, by the doctrine of many learned, and godly men; left not their firſt love with the Church of* Epheſus, *but rather took hold of their Skirts, as the Prophet ſpeaketh, untill the tortures of Martyrdome cut them off by death. And thoſe Fathers, even from the Diſciples themſelves, held a ſucceſſion in doctrine, (notwithſtanding ſome repugnancy was made by the Pagans,) and preached the Goſpel, with good ſucceſſe even till the ſame, at length went forth with a bolder countenance, by the favourable Edicts of* Adrian, Antoninus Pius, *and* Marcus Aurelius, *Emperors of* Rome; *(as* Euſebius *hath noted) and in* Britain, *was eſtabliſhed by the Authority of* Lucius *their King: whereby, this was the firſt of all the Provinces, (ſaith* Marcus Sabellicus,*) that received the Faith, by publick Ordinance, of the teachers of thoſe times;* Ball *from ſome other hath theſe Verſes.*

Apocal.2.4. Zecha.8.23.

Radulph Niger.

Euſebius lib. 4.c.9. &c.c. 13. lib.5.c.5.

Marc.Sabell. in Enead. 7. li.5. Jo Bal. Author Antiquit apud eundem.

Sic ut erat celebris cultu numeroque Deorum,
Cum Jovis Imperium, ſtaret Britannica tellus:

Sic

Sic ubi terreſtres Cælo deſcendit ad oras.
Expectata Salus, Patribus fuit inclyta Sanctis
Qui neptunicolum, campos, & cambri-carura
Cornicaſque caſas, loca deſelata colebant.
As were the Britains, famous for their Zeale,
To gentile Gods, which ſuch, they did adore;
So when the Heavens to'th Earth did truth reveale,
Bleſſ'd was that Land with truth, and learning ſtore,
Whence Britains plaines, and Cambria's deſert ground,
And Cornwall's Crags, with glorious Saints abound.

In which number were Eluanus, *and* Medewinus, *thoſe two learned Divines, who were ſent by King* Lucius *unto* Eleutherios *Biſhop of* Rome. This is the general opinion, and teſtimonie of our beſt Proteſtant Antiquaries, with their Authors and Authorities; and that Chriſtian Religion was thus dilated here in *Britain*, above an hundred years, before King *Lucius* his ſending to Pope *Eleutherius*, *à centum & amplius annis propagata fuit per Britanniam Chriſtiana Religio.*

Jo. Ball. lib. de ſcriptor cent. 1. in Lucio. Jo. Goſcelin Hiſtor. Eccles. Matth. Parker Antiq. Britann. fere in initio.

Religio. And again that there were here in every age, besides many other holy Bishops, and Priests, very many Monks, Abbots, and Monasteries. *Presbyterorum, Monachorum, Abbatum, Presulum Episcoporum sedium nomina permulta, quæ quovis sæculo extiterunt.* Whereby we are assured, even by the best learned of these Protestant Antiquaries; there called Bishops; and others among them, with common consent, that this renowned Kingdome had many most holy and learned Monks, Eremits, and Abbots in their Cells, and Monasteries in *Cornwall*, *Cambria*, and *Britain*; hundreds of years, before *Egypt* had any such: S. *Paul, Eremitarum primus*, the first Eremite, being the first both by S. *Hierom*, our old Martyrologes, and the Church of Christ in her publick office, that is remembred, and testified to have so lived there; and is by so great Authorities stiled the Author, and Master of such men there. *Paulus Eremitarum Author & Magister.* When *Britain* by these very greatest Enemies to Monasticall Profession, had, long time before, in divers places, both of *Cornwall*, *Cambria*, and other parts, very many Monasteries, Mansions, and Cells of Monks, Abbots, and Eremits, with their Orders, Rules, and holy Observances, without which they could not truely have that denomination, or be said

Hierom in vita S. Pauli Eremitæ.
Martyrol. Roman. 10. die Januar. Breviar. Roman. 15. Januar. in S. Paulo.

to

to be of such holy profession. The Antiquaries of *Cambridge* contend from antient monuments, (citing a Regall Charter of King *Arthur* to prove their assertion,) that Christian learned Divines of their Universities converted King *Lucius* to the Faith of Christ. *Glorioſus Rex* Britanniæ Lucius, *Chriſtianitatem amplectens prædicatione Doctorum* Cantabrigiæ. And affirm, they were such, as our Protestant Antiquaries have affirmed to have bin Monasticall men. And the old *Annales* of *Burton*, will joyne with our *Cantabrigians*; for many of their learned Christian Doctors were Apostolick Preachers before that time.

Deploma Regis Arthuri dat. an. Dom. 531. die 7. Aprilis. Caius Antiq. Cantab. lib. 1. pag. 69. aut 79. Annales Burtonens.

However, S. *Damianus* and *Phaganus*, sent hither Apostles from S. *Eleutherius* Pope, in the time of King *Lucius*, being Monks before; settled that holy Order, and Rule of Life here, in many Churches, and places, among which *Glaſtenbury* was one: For at the general conversion of *Britain*, in the time, and at the entreaty of King *Lucius*, we do not finde any great change, or alteration of Monasterial matters here, no diminution, but an augmentation rather, and increase of such things by the holy and learned Legates of S. *Eleutherius* Pope; S. *Damianus* and *Phaganus* both of them; as divers others of their Apostolick Mission, being holy, and learned Monks, or Monasticall men, before their consecration to be

S. Damianus and Phaganus so sent from Pope Eleutherius, being Monks, settled their rule in Glastenbury, and in other Churches.

Gildas Prefat. Hist. apud D. Feeknam orat. Parliam. 1. Regin. Elizab. Cajus lib. de Antiq. Academ. Cantabr. Antiq Eccles. Wintonien. Antiq. Eccl. Glaston. tabulis fixæ.

Bishops, to preach, and govern here in Ecclesiasticall, and religious affairs: So the old true S. *Gildas* in the Preface of his History; as the last worthy Abbot of *Westminster*, Dr. *Fecknam* citeth him in his publick Oration, in the first Parliament of Q. *Eliz.* So the Antiquaries of *Cambridge*; so the Antiquaries of *Winchester*, the Antiquaries of *Glastenbury*, and others are ample witnesses unto us. And although these holy Legates had ordered many things here before they came to *Glastenbury* to establish, and settle our old, yea the most ancient Monasticall Rule and Order, there: yet for the antiquity, and precedency thereof in this kinde of honor, I will remember it first among their Labours.

Antiquit. Glaston. tab. affix. Guilielm. Malmesb. b. de Antiquit. Cænobii Glastonien.

The Antiquities of this holy place, and many other approved monuments, and Authors prove, that these renowned Apostles establisht there, the very same Monasticall holy Order, and manner of life, wherein the holy Disciples of Christ, which came hither with S. *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, (who buried his blessed body,) and his son S. *Joseph* lived, and died there; and placed the same number of twelve of their Disciples, in the same place or places where those twelve Disciples had bin, *In eisdem locis, in quibus primi duodecim primitùs, habitarunt; in vetustam tamen Ecclesiam ad divina obsequia devotius complenda crebrò convenerunt*

runt quotidie. And as the first did, they often every day assembled in the old Church, devoutly there to perform their divine services to God, and the blessed Virgin, attending to watchings, fastings, and Prayers, as the first Disciples did. *Duodecem Sancti in eodem loco, Deo & Beatæ virgini devota exhibentes obsequia, vigiliis, jejuniis, & orationibus vacantes, ejusdem virginis auxilio, & visione, (ut credi pium est;) in omnibus necessitatibus refocillabantur.* And these holy Apostolick Legats, and Bishops lived there, with those their Religious associats, in that Monasticall manner of life, nine years, as the Antiquities of that place, with others testifie: But whether they died there, or no, they leave it doubtfull: *Utrum ibi requieverunt, vel inde redierunt, non invenimus scriptum.* But they procured King *Lucius* to allow, and give the same maintenance, or more, unto that holy Monastery, which it had from the time of S. *Joseph*; and these religious men lived in the same manner, as they did; and procured ten years of Indulgence, to all Bishops visiting religiously, the Chappell of S. *Michael* the Arch-angel, near adjoyning, leaving it in the same manner, and order, it was first founded by S. *Joseph*, and his benefactors. *Et sicut tres Reges Pagani dictam Insulam cum adjacentiis suis 12. primis Christi Discipulis,*

dudum conceſſerant, ita prædicti Phaganus & Domianus iſtis 12. *ſociis, & aliis impoſterum ſecuturis, ab eodem Rege* Lucio *eandem confirmari impetrabant; ſic autem multi aliis ſuccedentes, ſemper tamen in numero duodenario. per multa annorum curricula uſque ad adventum St.* Patricii Hibernienſium *Apoſtoli, in commemorata Inſula permanſerunt.* And ſo they continued in many ſucceſſions, but alwayes in the number of 12. for many years, untill the coming of S. *Patrick* the Apoſtle of the *Iriſh*, in the ſame Iſland: and at his coming thither, they continued, as he himſelf, and others witneſs, in their old holy manner of life, and holy converſation *piæ converſationis*; for which he tenderly loved them. They were all deſcended of noble parentage, coveting to adorn their Nobility, with the riches of Faith; they were humble, quiet, and ſuch, as that moſt holy, and glorious Apoſtle affirmeth of them; that he was not worthy to undoe the buckles of their ſhoes: *Non enim dignum eram ſolvere corrigias calceamentorum*: but they made him their Abbot or Superior, though unwilling: he was ſo delighted in their ſociety, that he teſtifieth, he had rather live an abject with them, then to dwell in the Courts of Kings: *Elegi potius cum illis abjectus eſſe, quam in regalibus curiis habitare*: and to ſhew their Monaſticall manner of life, he ſaith, *they were all*

S. Patricius in Epiſt. Antiquit. Glaſton. Et Guiliel. Malmesb. ſupra.

of

of one heart, one minde, dwelled together, did eat, and drink, and sleep together in one house, and lived a Monasticall life, according to the rule of praise-worthy Fathers. Sèd quia omnium Monasteriorum erat Cor unum, & anima una, elegimus simul omnes habitare, comedere, & bibere pariter, & in eadem Domo dormire; & cum vitam Monasticam ita duceremus juxta normam probabilium Patrum.

And in this holy renowned order, this our most ancient Monasterie continued, even by our Protestant Antiquaries; not admitting any latter new Rule, or Order of S. *Benedict*, or other, untill the time of S. *Dunstan*, many hundreds of years after; and by others, not till long time after S. *Dunstans* time. And therefore these Protestant Antiquaries do give the chiefest honor to this holy place in this kinde of Piety, stiling it, *The first Land of God*; *the first Land of Saints in* England; *the beginning and fountain of all Religion in* England; *the Tomb of Saints*; *the Mother of Saints*; *the Church founded and built by the Lords Disciples. The famous Abby of Glastenbury*; *the beginning whereof is very antient, fetched even from that* Joseph *of* Arimathea, *who interred the body of Jesus Christ.* Polidore Virgil *doth rightly call*, England, *the Parent and Mother Monasterie of all* Europe. Therefore it could not derive

Protest. Theater of great Britain. Cambden Britain in Sommersetshire Belgæ. pag. 227. edit. anno 1610. Theater & Cambden supra.

this honor from *Egypt*, or any foraigne Countrey: And our antiquaries *William* of *Malmeſbury* a Benedictine Monk, and others, prove, that S. *Benedicts* Rule, and Office were not there, after the coming of the *Normans* hither; but only the *Gregorian* Service, which Benedictine Monks might not uſe by their Rule; but only, that which S. *Benedict* appointed by his Rule, in many Chapters; and S. *Gregory* allowed only for that Order to uſe. Of our Epiſcopall Churches, in which our Biſhops, with their Clergy, lived now in community, I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

Guilel. Malmes. lid. be antiquit Cœnobii Glaſt. Capgrau. in S. Patricio. Benedict. in Regul. manuſcrip. antiqua de prima Inſtitutione Eccleſiaſt. Officii.

The

The Fourth Chapter.

The Antient Monks and Monaſterie of Bangor *in* Britain, *of no Egyptian Order, yet Founders, and Mother to many Monaſteries in many Nations.*

AMong other renowned Monaſteries, and Manſions for holy, and learned devoted Chriſtians, founded in theſe times here in *Britain*: Theſe our greateſt Proteſtant Antiquaries, with their moſt publick, and approved conſent, will aſſure us; That our old renowned Monaſterie of *Bangor*, (with Monks in great number there,) was farr more antient, then any Abbot Rule, or rule-giver to Monks, or Monaſterie in *Egypt*, S. *Pachomius*, not borne till long after this time, who by all mens eſteem is accounted the firſt rule-giver to Monks in the *Egyptian* parts. For firſt in diſhonour of Monks, they affirm that *Pelagius*, the Arch-heretick, was not only a Monk, but the Abbot, or Ruler of that famous Colledg; our Monaſterie of *Bangor*, in which there were 2100 Chriſtian Philoſophers, that ſerved for the profit of the people in Chriſt, living by the

Jo. Balæus lib. de Scriptor Britan centur. 1. in Pelagio. Cambden Cornavii Cheſterſhire.

The Antiquity of the Monasterie of Bangor even by Protestant Antiquaries, most antient, and before any Egyptian Monasterie, or other out of Britain.

labours of their hands according to S. *Pauls* doctrine. Pelagius *Haresiarches ex* Britaniis *oriundus*, *famati illius Collegii* Bannochorensis, *Præpositus erat*, *in quo Christianorum Philosophorum, duo millia ac centum*, *ad plebis in Christo profectum militabant*, *manuum suarum laboribus juxta* Pauli *doctrinam victitantes*. And such they account only for true Monks; and plainly say, this Monasterie or Colledg had thus continued from King *Lucius* his time 350. years, *per circitur trecentos & quinquaginta duraverat annos*, before S. *Congellus* was Abbot there in the year 550. which proveth, the foundation of it to have been about the year of Christs Nativity 200. or sooner, which was long before *Pachomius* was born. And to joyn Catholick Antiquaries and writers, of chief account with them, in this testation, they produce the holy learned S. *Bernard* to affirm, that this our renowned Monastery of *Bangor* was the head of the first, or chiefest Monasteries in the world; and to have begotten many thousands of Monks: *Bernardus Clarevallensis hunc locum tradit primorum extitisse Monasteriorum Caput*, *& multa genuisse Monachorum millia*. *The famous*, (words of our Protestant Theater,) *Monasterie of* Bangor, *as a Colledg of divine Philosophers*, *and by* Clarevallensis *truely acknowledged to be the mother of all other*

Ball. Supra in Congello.

Protest. Theater. lib 6. cap. 9. sect. 20.

In mergine supra.

in the world. And plainly again thus add, or reiterate their own consent herein in these words: *Bangor* in *Wales*, the first Monasterie *in the world.* So these men assure us with good authority; that our Monks of *Bangor*, could not come from *Egypt*, but that they, and their Monastery were more antient, then any such place, or persons there.

And though S. *Congellus*, Abbot there, so long after the founding thereof; did write a Rule of Monasticall life, as both Catholick, and Protestant writers prove; *Regularis vitæ Methodum*, *librum unum*, or, *de regularis vitæ methodo, librum unum*; (for which, and his Epistles to the Abbots of Monasteries, *ad Cœnobiorum Patres*, and *alia multa monumenta*, and many other monuments, he is placed by them among our learned writers;) yet, this doth not prove, that he was the first Abbot there, or giver of a Monasticall Rule to that place, but the contrary; for he was, and needs must be, (as these men, and al Authors prove unto us,) a Monk before he was Abbot; and being a Monk; and Monk in *Bangor*, he must needs live under the Rule Monasteriall or generall of that Order, and Monasterie, whereof he was a Monk. And if *Bangors* monastery had not had a rule before, neither *Pelagius*, nor he, nor so many hundreds of other Monks there, as I have recounted; could

Pits, & Ball in Congello.

S. Congellus his Monastical Rule written by him.

could have been true Monks, or Monasticall regular men. And all writers of Rules of Monks here in *Britain*, as in other places, S. *David*, S. *Kentegern*, S. *Brendan*, S. *Columba*, S. *Columbanus*, and others, were Schollars, and learners of Monasticall discipline before they were Masters, or Rule-givers therein. Nor do I think it less then a strange imagination of some that think *Congellus*, was either the first, that brought Monasticall Order out of *Egypt* into *Britain* or *Europe*; or that he ever professed, or taught any *Egyptian* Order. *Non desunt, qui existimant Congellum, omnium primum non modo in Britanniam, verum etiam in Europam Monachismum Ægyptium introduxisse.* For he was brought up in our renowned Monastery of *Bangor*, and never travelled into *Egypt*, or any Countrey out of *Britain*, to know, profess in himself, or teach, and prescribe unto others, any Monasticall *Egyptian* Rule, in which he must needs be most ignorant. And the Rule, which *Congellus* wrote, is, by all Antiquaries, Catholicks, or Protestants, writing of him; called his Rule, and written by him: *Scripsit inter cætera Congellus vitæ regularis methodum*: whereas if it had been the *Egyptian* Rule, *Pachomius*, and other *Egyptians* must be said to have written it; because they wrote the *Egyptian* Rules; and not *Congellus*, or any such stranger unto *Egypt*,

Pitt. lib. de viris illustribus in Congello.

Egypt, and Monasticall proceedings there. Yea we must rather say, that S. *Benedict* did write and deliver an *Egyptian* Rule in *Europe*, then any *Britain*, for we have warranting good Authors, that S. *Benedict* did gather, and take his Rule wholly from S. *Fructuosus* S. *Basile*, and S. *Pachomius* his *Egyptian* Rule: *De regula Sanctorum Fructuosi, Basilii, & Pachomii Beatus Benedictus suam Regulam compilavit.* Which is more then any approved Antiquarie writeth of S. *Congellus*, or any Monasticall Rule-writer in, or, of *Britain*, to my reading, or memory. And two of these four Protestant prime Antiquaries, must give their sentence for me, that I am not singular herein. One of them writeth; *minime credi volunt nonnulli Monachorum Ægyptiensium Instituta, (quæ pleno dimensa horreo, habentur apud Cassianum) in occidente unquam esse recepta. Some will not have it believed, that the Institutes of the* Egyptian *Monks (which* Cassianus *largely entreateth of,) were ever received in the west.* If they think they never came into the west; sure we are, they thought, they never came into *Britain*, the negative of the general, denieth the particulars. And this Protestant Antiquarie, not seeking to confute this opinion; the indifferent Reader will think it was because he could not, for he alledgeth nothing to the contrary, but only a pretended

Manuscriptum Benedictin. antiquum.

Jo Selden Not. ad Cadmerum pagina 209.

pretended Copie of *William* of *Malmesbury*, affirming, that before the coming of St. *Augustine* hither, the Monks of *Glastenbury*, did live as the *Egyptian* Monks, *more Ægyptiensium Monachorum*. When indeed that Authour in this book and true Copie, which I have seen, and diligently examined, hath no such thing, but rather the contrary; which I have before sufficiently remembred, and proved as well by these Protestant writers, as other Antiquaries, that the Monks of *Glastenbury*, lived as they did in S. *Joseph* of *Arimathea's*, and the rest of Christs Disciples, his associates time, in their holy manner, and order of life, never admitting any other Rule, diverse hundreds of years after S. *Augustines* coming hither, and then no *Egyptian*, but the *Benedictine* Rule.

Guliel. Cambden Britann. Cornavii, pag. 603. edit. in 1610.

The other, (the chiefest of that Protestant number, and of the most reading among them,) will give better testimonie in this matter: First he speaketh thus of the first Monks of *Egypt*. *The profession of this Monasticall life began, when* Pagan *Tyrants enraged against Christians, pursued them with bloody persecutions: For then good devout men, that they might serve God in more safety, and security, withdrew themselves into vast wilderneses in Ægypt, where they scattered themselves among mountains, and deserts; living in Caves, and*

and little Cells, here, and there in holy meditations. At first, solitary, and alone, whereupon in Greek *they were called* Monachi, *that is,* Monks; *but after they thought it better to meet together at certain times to serve God: and at length they began to or habit, and live together for mutuall comfort.* By this it is evident by the judgement of this best learned Protestant Antiquarie, that *Egypt* neither had Eremites, nor Monks, untill the time of S. *Paul* the first Eremite, S. *Anthony*, and S. *Pachomius*, which was long after this time of King *Lucius*, and the founding of these our *British* Monasteries; and he expressly proveth *Bangor*, or *Banchor*, a famous Monasterie from the first foundation of it in the *Britains* time: Borium, *in some written copies of* Antonine, Bovium, *a City that had been of great name in that age, and afterwards a famous Monasterie, of the* Chore, *or* Quire; *whereof, it was called by the* Britains, Bonchor, *and* Banchor. Thus antient he maketh this old Monasterie, and thus renowned for the Religious Chore or Quire of Monks there, giving that name unto it at the Institution thereof in this Time; since when in all antiquities it is thereupon named *Bangor*, *Bonchor*, or *Banchor*. And this prime Protestant Antiquarie, coming to the time of S. *Congellus*, Abbot there, and the Institution of his Rule, or Order, plainly

by

ly distinguisheth it from *Egyptian* Orders pretended by any to be brought into *Britain*, or into the west Church: For speaking of *Egyptian* Monks, he writeth thus. Athanasius *first brought this kinde of Monks, consisting of Lay-men, into the west Church, whereunto, after that, S.* Austin *in* Africa, *S.* Martin *in* France, *and* Congell *in* Britain, *and* Ireland, *had adjoyned the function of Regular* Clergy.

Britain did not receive Monasticall life from Egypt, but planted it in many Nations.

Now if it be true, which these men have testified before of the Religious glory of this Monasterie, before any *Egyptian* Monks of any kinde, came either into *Britain*, or any part of the west; and that the Order, or Rule of *S. Congellus*, Abbot of *Bangor*, or *Bonchor*, did so consent, and agree with S. *Augustines*, and S. *Martins* in function of Regular Clergy, and so much differed from *Egyptian* Monks Lay-men; & S. *Congell* added these his monks in *Britain* and *Ireland*; and as these, and other Protestant Antiquaries assure us, his Disciples S. *Columbanus*, and S. *Brendan* filled *France*, *Germany*, and *Italie*; *Britain*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, with habitations, or monasteries of monks of this holy learned Order: *Hujus Discipuli fuêre plures, quorum* Columbanus, Galliam, Germaniam, Italiam; Brendanus *verò* Hiberniam & Scotiam, *Monachorum habitaculis implevit*: I cannot tell where to seek to finde any *Egyptian*

Jo Ball. lib. de scriptor Centur 1. in Congello.

gyptian monks, either in all *Britain*, or any other western Nation which I have remembred either in this, or in the precedent, or after times; all Nations being by these men, now filled with habitations, or monasteries of S. *Congellus*, and S. *Martins* monks; as *Africk* was with them of S. *Augustines* order. And these monks of Learning, learned to profit and teach themselves, and others, thereby to enter into Apostolick life, and conversation; were ever, and needs must be recounted, to have been of the most holy, and perfect Order; not only with others, forsaking the world for their own proper salvation; but more particularly, and perfectly, to save the soules of many others by their holy preaching, and doctrine. All the Doctors of Christs Church *Greek*, and *Latine* chiefly advanced, and preferred this holy Order. S. *Chrysostom*, S. *Basile*, S. *Gregory*, and others. S. *Ambrose* in the *Latin* Church brought forth many such; S. *Gregory*, S. *Augustine*, and S. *Martin* made choice of this most holy learned order for themselves, their monks, and good of others. S. *Gregory* our Apostle, did preferr this preaching life, and order before al states and orders in this world. And the holy learned Doctor, S. *Hierom*, did not differ from the rest herein, who writing to *Rusticus* a Monk, thus adviseth him, and other Monks in him. *Sic vive in monasterio, ut Clericus esse*

S. Hierom Epist. ad Rustic. Girald. Cambren Topograph. Hibern. cap. 29.

esse mercearis. So live in holy monastery, that thou mayst deserve to be a Priest: learn a long time, that thou mayst teach afterwards; and among good men alwayes follow the best; and when thou shalt be chosen to be a Priest, do those things belonging to a Priest. If thou desirest to be a Priest learn first, what thou mayst teach: Do not look to be an old Souldier, before thou art a young one; be not a Master, before thou art a Scholler. Great then was the Glory of *Britain* in this kinde by these men, to bring forth so many, and glorious Abbots, Priests, Monks, and Monasteries, both at home, and in so many other Nations of such a most worthy and renowned Order and Profession.

The

The Fifth Chapter.

The old Cathedrall Church at Winchester *from the first founding of it in* Lucius *his time, was a Monastery, where the Bishop and Priests lived Monastically; so were all the Cathedrall Churches of* Britain *then.*

BUt in this very time, and long before any *Egyptian* Monks are imagined by any, to have entred either into *Britain*, or any part of the west; or any monastery of such were yet in *Egypt* it self, *Britain* will afford us, besides others, so many renowned Cathedrall monasteries, as it had Episcopall Sees and Cities; all alike founded for, and in place of our *Arch-flamens*, and *Flamens*. The antiquities of *Winchester*, warranted unto us both by Protestant, and Catholick Antiquaries, do assure us, that the monastery named there, the old monasterie, *vetus Cœnobium*, was founded first by King *Lucius*, and made by him a Cathedrall Church, with Monks

Antiquitates Eccles. Winton.

Monks placed in it to live monastically, with the Bishop there; and that he gave unto it the Revenues, and possessions of the *Flamens*, which had been but a little before there resident, for maintenance of these Monks; and did also more munificently endow it. And again that this Church of *Winchester* was thus founded, and dedicated by our Apostolick Bishops, S. *Phaganus* and *Damianus*, having been Monks before, in honour of our Saviour, the fourth of the Kalends of *November*, in the year of Grace 169, I suspect that 169. should be 189. *Lucius Rex primus fundavit Ecclesiam* Wintoniensem, *quæ modo vetus nominatur Cænobium, Ipsam faciens Ecclesiam Cathedralem, Monachos in ipsam collocans, prædia, & possessiones Flaminum, qui parum antea erant in* Britannia, *Monachis non solum dedit, sed etiam magnifice ampliavit; fundata prædicta Ecclesia* Wentana, *& dedicata à* Phagano, *&* Damiano, *Episcopis, & monachis, in honorem S. Salvatoris* 4. *Kal.* Novemb. *anno gratiæ* 169. or 189.

Godwine Catalog. Bish. Winchester in initio.

Our Protestant Antiquaries, from these antiquities say; this Monastery was founded, *and monks placed in it, about the year of our Lord* 180; *and was hallowed, and dedicated in honour of our Saviour*, October 29. 189. *by* Phaganus *&* Damianus, *Bishops. About the space of* 100. *years the Church of Christ had then peace in this Land: viz.*

until

untill the Reigne of Diocleſian, *who endeavoured to root out Chriſtian Religion; not only killed the profeſſors of the ſame, but alſo pulled down all Churches, and Temples, anywhere conſecrated unto the exerciſe thereof. Among the reſt, this of* Wincheſter, *at that time went to wrack, the buildings thereof being ruinated, and made even with the ground; and the Monks, with all the Officers belonging to it, either ſlain, or enforced to flye, for the preſent time. Thus happened in the year 289. Not long after the death of this cruel Tyrant, to wit, the year 309. the Church aforeſaid was again reedified; and that with ſuch wonderfull forwardneſs, and Zeal, as within one year, and thirty dayes, both it, and all the Edifices belonging to it, (as chambers, and other buildings for the Monks,) were quite finiſhed in very ſeemly and convenient manner. The 15. day of* March *following, it was again hallowed, and dedicated unto the honour and memory of* Amphibalus; *(who had ſuffered death for Chriſt in the late perſecution) by* Conſtans *Biſhop (as my Author ſaith,) of* Wincheſter, *at the requeſt of* Deodatus, *Abbot of this new erected Monaſtery; 200 years and upwards it then continued in the ſame ſtate; to wit untill the year 519 at which time* Cardick, *the firſt King of the weſt* Saxons, *being a* Pagan, *converted the Church into the Temple of*

Dagon; (*saith the Manuscript aforesaid*) *and either slew, or chased away all the Monks, and Ministers of the same. Thus much for the first foundation of this Church, and the estate thereof untill the coming of the* Saxons. Thus farr this Protestant Bishops relation from *an old Manuscript*, as he witnesseth. And the old Antiquities of *Wincheſter*, in that Copy, which I have; do nothing, or very little differ, except in seeming to hold, that the perfect dedication of this Church by Bishop *Constans*, Bishop of the same Church, at the request of *Deodatus* Abbot of that monasterie, was finished the 16. of the Kalends of *October*. 16. *Kal.* Octobris, *à Constante ejusdem Ecclesiæ Pontifice, hoc petente* Deodato, *ejusdem Monasterii Abbate*. And that it continued in peace 210 years, from the death of *Diocleſian*, untill the coming of *Cardick* the *Saxon*, not naming the year of his destroying. But our other Historians, both *Britains* and *Saxons*, Catholicks and Protestants, continue this Church of S. *Amphibalus* at *Wincheſter* long after this time in quiet; affirming that King *Conſtine* killed one of the sons of *Mordred* in that Church, before the altar. *Wintoniæ in Ecclesia* S. Amphibali *ante Altare trucidavit, anno gratiæ* 543. in the year of Christ 543. Great, must needs, the number of Monks be, from the first founding of it by King *Lucius*

Antiquitates Eccleſi. Wintonienſis.

Matth. west Monaſter. Chronic. an. 543. Galfrid. Monument. lib. 11 Hiſt. cap. 4.

Lucius, giving to that monasterie, for the maintenance of the Monks, all the Land and Territories of the *Pagan Flamens*, 12 miles in circuit about *Winchester* on every side of the City, besides other gifts, and donations to that Cathedrall Monasterie, whereby it is evident, that neither *Egyptian*, nor *Benedictine* Monks could possibly be seated there; the last, not known in the universall world, nor the others, at any time entring *Britain*, during the continuance of this renowned Monasterie, in peace and quietnes with those Monasticall men planted first there, (before *Egypt* had any such Monks or Monasteries,) and such as succeeded them there, in that their first Rule and Order.

Thom. Puidburn Cornic. Major. Morar lib. 1. cap. 9 Harpsfeild Histor. pag. 6

What I have said of this Cathedrall Monasterie, I must needs affirm of all the rest; 3. Archepiscopall, and 28. Episcopall Churches, or Monasteries, founded by the same men, the same means, in the same manner, and order, at the same time in *Britain*, in places of the *Archflamens*, and *Flamens* here; the old Territories, Rents, and Revenues of them, by all writers, converted to such uses, as in this Cathedrall monastery of *Wincheſter*, holy convents, and societies of regular, and religious persons, placed in them all, by our Religious Legates. *Beati Ergo Doctores Templa, quæ in honore plurimorum Deorum fundata fuerant, uni Deo, ejusq;*

All the archbishops and Bishops of Britain now thus lived in their Cathedrall Monasteries, or Sees with their Priests, and Clergies. Histor. Briton. lib. 4 cap. 19. Ponticus virun. hist. Britan lib. 4. Matth. west. monast. Chron. anno 185.

ejusq; Sanctis dedicaverunt, diversisq; ordinatorum catibus repleverunt. These conventes, Companies, or Societies of men, living in Rule and Order in such Churches or monasteries, must needs consist of men living in Order and Rule: and the Lands of the *Flamens*, and *Archflamens*, being given unto them, by so great Power and Authority to live in community; the known distinction of monks, and Clergy-regulars, without propriety or personall right, or possession; from others enjoying, and possessing personall Right, and Propriety sufficiently giveth warrant, they now lived in regular community. So we have heard by the greatest Authority of S. *Urbanus* Pope the first, in the year of Christ 222. that thus they lived in Cathedrall Churches, from the Apostles time to S. *Elentherius*; from him to S. *Urbanus*; and ought in his time, and after so to live. *Ipsæ verò res in ditione singularum Parochiarum erant, & sunt usq; adhuc, & futuris semper debent esse temporibus.*

So, we have found it was in the Apostles time; so between that, and the coming or sending of S. *Damianus*, and *Phaganus*, religious Legates from *Rome*. So it will be manifest in our other religious Legates hither thence; to establish all Ecclesiastical and regular affairs, in *Britain*, or in any part, Countrey, or Island thereto belonging

ing. S. *Nicianus*, *Palladius*, S. *Germanus*, S. *Lupus*, S. *Severus*, S. *Patricius*, and others, hereafter to be remembred, with the Religious Rules and Orders, they had professed; none of them or their orders coming from *Egypt*, or any place near thereunto; not in any true, or proper sence, could such monasteries, be termed *Egyptian* monasteries or Monks; but Metaphorically, or Allegorically, for the great number of Monks, and Monasteries sometimes in *Egypt*, when some other Countries were almost, or altogether destitute of such; though *Britain* was none of them; but carrieth Priority before *Egypt* in this kinde of honor; in which manner of speech *Eucherius* is cited by some to say, that S. *Caprasius*, and those, who with him founded the Monasterie of *Lyrinum* in *France*, (whence S. *Lupus*, and (by some,) S. *Germane* came hither) were *Egyptian* Fathers, or Monks brought from the Cells of *Egypt* into *France*. *Hæc videlicet* Lyrinensis *sancta Insula, nunc possidet venerabilem gravitate Caprasium, veteribus Sanctis parem; hæc nunc habet Sanctos senes illos, qui è diversis Cellulis Ægyptios Patres nostros Galliis intulerunt.* When it is evident by the said Authours, in the same place, that S. *Caprasius*, and his holy Companions, neither were from the Cells of *Egypt*, nor came out of *Egypt* into *France*, but out of *Ni-*

The Monks of Lyrinum from whence some came hither into Britain, did not come from Egypt.

comedia, and other places remote both from *Egypt* and *France*; The Region of *Achaia*, whence S. *Caprasius*, S. *Honoratus*, and S. *Vincentius*, the Founders of *Lyrinum* Monastery came, is much a strange, and different Nation from *Egypt*: And yet the same Authours, and S. *Hilarius* Bishop of *Arles*, successor to S. *Honoratus*, say, they came from thence; and that they lived in *Italy*, and *Tusta*, before they came into *France*, to found that monastery: And S. *Hilarius* saith plainly, that S. *Honoratus* was of *France*, and travelled to *Achaia* for love of Religious life, and their living both in *Achaia* and *Lyrinum* was far different from that of *Egypt*, *diversis Cellulis*, in diverse Cells; for here in *Lyrinum* they founded a renowned monastery, *apta Monachorum habitaculis tecta consurgunt*. And all, or almost all Nations, had their natives most holy, and learned monks there. *Quæ terra, quæ Natio in monasterio illius cives suos non habuit?* As both S. *Hilarius*, and S. *Cæsarius*, Archbishop of *Arles*, and our old Brittish Antiquities, with others, most manifestly prove. *Egypt* must then rather be a learner of monasticall life at *Lyrinum*; then *Lyrinum* at *Egypt*, if either learned from other in this kinde. So that no Apostolick man, sent into *Britain*, that had been before a Monk at *Lyrinum*, (Saint *Lupus* or other) can be said, to have brought

S. Hilar. Arelat. Episcop. Sermon. in vita S. Honorati apud Sur com. 7.

S. Hilar. supra, S. Cæsar. Epis. Arelat. serm. ad Monachos. Manuscrip. antiqu. Britan.

brought Monasticall life out of *Egypt* into *Britain*, far more antient then *Lyrinum*, or *Egypt* in this Kinde of glorie.

Thus our Cathedrall Churches or Monasteries furnished here with such Clergies regular, long time before *Egypt*, or *Lyrinum* received monasticall men, never failed nor fainted here from their first foundation, but in the *novennis persecutio*, the nine years persecution of *Diocletian*, as S. *Gildas* calleth it; but generally, and presently after failing, were repaired again in such manner, and order, as they were before, and so continued in all stormes of troubles, and afflictions both in *Loegria*, and *England*, *Albania*, *Scotland*, and *Cambria*, *Wales*, untill the year 586. but 6. years before the coming of S. *Augustine* hither, the Bishops of most Sees in *England*, were driven from their monasticall Churches; and yet at that time, the monasteries of *Scotland*, *Cornwall*, and *Cambria*, were free; and most of them that fled; were elsewhere, preserved, and continued in such manner, as they did before their expulsion, from their Sees. And the Order of S. *Gregory* Pope, our Apostle, was, they should generally be founded, and restored so again by S. *Augustine*, and his other holy Legates, missioners hither. Nor can it be denied but that by our Protestant Antiquaries, themselves, besides other witnesses, This Apostolick

Gild. lib. de excid.

Decree

Decree and Order of our Apoſtle, and Pope, S. *Gregory*, was or ought to have been obſerved in all our Cathedrall and Epiſcopall Churches here. For as the Interrogation of S. *Auguſtine* to S. *Gregory*, how Biſhops here ſhould converſe with their Clergies: *De Epiſcopis qualiter tum ſuis Clericis converſantur*, was univerſall, and generall concerning all Biſhops, and their Clergies, how to converſe, and live together in their Cathedrall Churches: So the anſwer, and Order of S. *Gregorie* our Apoſtle, and Pope, was and muſt needs be accordingly, as generall, that all Biſhops, and Clergies here, ſhould live in community; as in the time of the Apoſtles, and primitive Church, when there was no propriety among them, and no man had any thing proper of his own, but lived Monaſtically in Community. *Fraternitas tua Monaſterii Regulis erudita, ſeorſum fieri non debet à Clericis ſuis, in Eccleſia Anglorum, quæ Authore Deo nuper adhuc ad fidem adducta eſt, hanc debet converſationem inſtituere, quæ initio naſcentis Eccleſiæ, fuit Patribus noſtris, in quibus nullus eorum ex his, quæ poſſidebat, aliquid ſuum dicebat, ſed erant eis omnia communia.* Which doth not only confirm, and prove, that all our Biſhops then did ſo live in the beginning of the *Saxons* Church, but of our *Britiſh* alſo: *initio naſcentis Eccleſiæ*: and ſo it continued

Gregor. reſponſ. ad interrogat. S. Auguſt. reſp. 1. Beda. Hiſto. Eccleſias. lib. 1. cap. 28. Capgrav. in S. Auguſtino.

tinued long after this, both with the *Britains* and *Scots*, even of *Ireland*; where the Bishops lived, as Monks, in the time of *Giraldus Cambrensis*: *Cum ferè omnes Hiberniæ Prælati de monasterio in clerum electi sunt: quæ monachi sunt, solicite complent omnia.* Yea the Bishops of *Britain* lived so Monastically, as our old Monks; that none of their Archbishops did eat flesh untill the coming of S. *David*, who died about the year of Christ 544, whereas twenty Cistercien Abbots under their own, and with the Popes Confirmatorie Seal, have publickly testified, that *Benedictine Monks* never might so live, in such order and manner with Bishops in their Cathedrall Churches, as antiently Religious Priests lived; and S. *Gregory* ordained, that the Monks which he sent hither from his Rule, and Monastery, should do; and accordingly they did in all our Cathedral Churches, and must needs do: we had more Priests and Monks at *Canturburies* Cathedrall Church, with S. *Augustine*; at *Rochester*, with S. *Justus*; at *London*, with S. *Mellitus*; at *York* with S. *Paulinus* Archbishop there. Which argument alone, with so great Authority, convinceth, without any other, that S. *Gregory*, and his monks, and missioners hither neither were, nor could be Benedictine monks; who indeed had not their first entrance hither, till long time after this

Girald. Cambren. Topograph. Hibern. c. 29. Girald. in Cambria. Godwin Catal. Episc. in S. David. 20. Cistertien. Abbates cum sigillo Apostolico.

Sigebert. Chron. an. 1107. Guliel. Malmesb. lib. 4. de Regibus in Guliel. 2.

Apo-

Apoſtolick miſſion, and monks of S. *Gregories* order coming hither, as I ſhall ſhew more at large hereafter.

The Sixth Chapter.

Many other holy, and learned antient Monaſteries in Britain *in theſe times; with remembrance of diverſe of them; no Egyptian Monks in any of them.*

BUt to leave ſo many renowned Cathedral, or Epiſcopal Monaſteries, where our Primitive holy Biſhops, with their Prieſts or Clergies regular, or Monks, lived in Monaſteriall and Apoſtolick manner and order together in this time of our Apoſtles, S. *Damianus* and *Phaganus*, when we finde no ſuch Monks or Monaſteries yet in Egypt, nor a good while after: Wee ſhall eaſily finde ſtill, after ſo many, and often loſſes of our Antiquities and monuments; other Monaſteries and Manſions of Monks, and Religious Perſons in this our Britaine, which muſt needs receive being and foundations long before we read of any Egyptian Monks or Religious perſons in, or out of Egypt. The old *Annales* of the ancient Monaſtery of *Abingdon*, five miles from *Oxford*, with other Antiquities and Antiquaries doe

doe propose unto us, that Noble Monastery for one; making it honourable in, or very near this Time; testifying that our most renowned King and Emperour *Constantine* the great, had education in that memorable place, then a Monastery in his younger yeares, and so prove the foundation thereof, before *Dioclesian* his time, when Monasteries and such holy monuments were here, as in other places where his persecution raged, destroyed, aud not new-founded or builded. The worthiness of it then to give education to so great a Prince, giveth it a more antient foundation: so doth the memorable amplitude of it, having in it then above 500 Monks whereof 60 were such as *assiduè in ipso Cœnobio versabantur*, lived daily in the Monastery; and the other living by the labour of their hands in the woods and deserts adjoyning, repaired every Sunday and Holiday to their Monastery; many of the Abbots or Rulers there being Bishops. *Chronicon Abingdonensis Cænobii, quosdam illius Cænobii præfectos enumerat, è quibus multi fuere simul Episcopi.* And this great testimony of so large and noble an old Monastery, is proved and deduced by the old Antiquities thereof by continuall tradition, and warrant even from those very dayes, *Ex majorum per manus ducta traditione, atque affirmatione*; which, with the testimony of the old Annals there, with the Regal charters

Chronic. Abingdonen. Monast. Rex. Cissa deplorat Monast. Abingdonen.

Harpersfeld. Histo. Eccles. sæculo 10. pag. 203.

The old Monastery of Abingdon renowned in these times.

ters of King *Ciſſa*, *Ina*, and others, will give ample confirmation it was ſo ancient and renowned; even in the middle, as it were of this Kingdom.

Many other antient Monaſteries, Capgrav. in vita S. Egwini Epiſcopi.

We finde in the time of King *Ethelred* of the Mercians, there was near unto theſe parts an old Monaſtery, named *Fledanburch*, *antiquum Cœnobium*, *quod Fledanburch nuncupatur*, which hee gave to S. *Egwin*, Biſhop of *Worceſter* to be renewed; which being old in that time, muſt needs be founded in that ancient time; as alſo that old little Church or Monaſtery where *Eveſham* was after built, founded by the Britaines, *Ex opere forſitan* Britannorum. The renowned Monaſtery in *Ambrii*, by *Amſbury*, not farre from theſe places, flouriſhed with 300 Monks; *Erat ibi Cœnobium trecentorum fratrum in monte Ambrii*, ſaid in the beginning of the Saxons coming hither, to have been founded long before, by one *Ambrius*, and from him to have had that name, *qui ut fertur*, *Fundator eius olim extiterat*; & having ſo many Monks in it at the Saxons coming hither; we muſt needs remember it among our old & moſt ancient monaſteries. There were alſo many ſuch monaſteries in that, as in other Provinces here, carrying in them ſuch Antiquitie; the number of Abbots in thoſe monaſteries, which aſſembled in thoſe parts with the Biſhops, and Clergie, at the Funerall of King *Aurelius*

Lle. Dan Barch. *i. e place under Barch.*

Guilie. Malmesb. lib. 4. de geſtis Pontificum Hiſtor. Britan. lib. 8. cap. 9.

relius Ambrosius, (Abbots I say of monasteries, famous here before the *Saxons* coming, when monasteries were destroyed, and not erected) gives testimonie unto it: *Audito ipsius obitu, convenerunt in urbem* Guintonicam *Pontifices & Abbates, atq; totus Clerus ejusdem Provincie, & in tanti Regis funus ipsius procuraverunt.* And before he was attended with great solemnity, where he was afterwards so honorably buried, with the Bishops, Abbots, and Nobles, *cum Episcopis, Abbatibus, & aliis Magnatibus.* So that we see, still remaining many monks, monasteries, and Abbots here, of our old, and primitive Institution; notwithstanding that great destruction, and desolation, the first *Pagan Saxons*, King *Hengist*, and others, had made, and left in these parts especially where they reigned, and prevailed as Kings, or Rulers as they did in diverse great Provinces of this Island, not leaving in quiet any such Religious Societies; but *Ecclesias & Ecclesiastica omnia ad solum usq; destruebant; Sacerdotes juxta altaria trucidabant, quasq; Provincias devastantes;* Destroying all Provinces, destroying Churches, and all Ecclesiasticall things, even to the ground; and yet both many Bishops, Priests, and Religious persons escaped in all places; and the Religious fled into Denns, Woods, Desarts, desolate, and unaccessible

Histor. Brit. sup. cap. 16. Matth. Westmon. Chron. anno. 497. Galfrid. monum. Hist. Brit. l. 8. c. 12. Matth. Westmr. an. 490.

Matt. Westm. Chron. an. 462

sible places; *viri Religioſi, qui ab hac clade evadere potuerunt, ſpeluncas, & nemora, loca, atq; deſerta montium & collium præruptæ, ſanctorum ſecum reliquias portantes, petierunt.* So that in all places, where *England* now is, we muſt needs ſay, there was a never-interrupted continuation of ſuch monaſtical rule and order, as was firſt planted here, no other yet entering here, by any other Apoſtolick Prelate, or Orderer of ſuch thing.

Many Monks and Monaſticall men now in Scotland.

Veremond, Hiſt. Scotor. Hector. Boeth. Scotor. hiſt. lib. 6.

And for the Countrey, now named *Scotland*, as it is moſt certain in Antiquities, that it received both Religion, and Religious manner, and order of life from the *Britains*, and ſuch as joyned with them therein: ſo as undoubted it is, that ſuch their monks, and Religious firſt founded there, continued for many generations, and ſucceſſions; and in ſome places, moſt renowned for ſuch ſanctity of life, even to theſe late lamentable inovations in religion. The *Scotiſh* writers deliver for undoubted Truth; that as S. *Eleutherius* Pope, at the interceſſion of S. *Lucius*, our King of *Britain*, ſent S. *Phaganus*, and S. *Damianus*, religious Prieſts, to convert it; ſo S. *Victor* Pope in the year 203, at the intreaty of *Donaldus*, King among the *Scots*, ſent ſuch learned and religious men, to convert that Nation to the Faith of Chriſt alſo; and they converted, and baptized the King,

his

his Queen and children. *Severo imperante, Romanis apud victorem Pontificem Maximum, qui quintus decimus post Petrum Ecclesiæ præfuit, per legatos obtinuit (Donaldus) ut viri doctrina & Religione insignes in Scotiam ab eo missi, se cum liberis & Conjuge Christi nomen profitentes, baptismate insignirent. Regis exemplum Scotiæ Nobilitas secuta, aversata impietatem, Christique Religionem complexa, sacro fonte est abluta.* And these *Scots*, as they say, ever persevered in that holy faith, and Piety; wherein they were now instructed, and contemned errours. *Nostri, qua fide & pietate instituti semel fuerunt, hactenus erroribus aspernatis perseverant.* And these holy Apostolick Preachers, being thus learned, and religious; the *Scots* then first, were taught, and instructed in holy learning, by them: *Nostri tum primùm sacras coluere literas, sacerdotibus præceptoribus, quos Victor Pontifex Maximus ad Christi dogma propalandum in externam miserat Albionem.* Afterwards in the persecution of *Diocletian*, before *Egypt* had such monks; many of our *British* Religious, went thither, *Scotland* being free from *Diocletians* power and authority, as not subject to the Empire; and were entertained by King *Crathlint* there, with great love, and kindness; And the Religious men of *Scotland* joyned with them, both

in Preaching, and monasticall converſation, who for ſuch holy kinde of life were called *CULDEYS*, worſhipers of God: *Inter noſtrates eadem fuere tempeſtate, ſacra doctrina pollentes, Amphibalus Antiſtes, Madocus, Priſcus, Calanus, Feranus, Ambianus, & Carnacus Dei, cultores, Culdei, priſca noſtra vulgari lingua, dicti; Chriſti ſervatoris doctrinam omnes per Scotorum Regiones concionando multis piiſq; ſudoribus ſeminantes; fuere nunc & alii permulti: ſed hi, quorum nomina ad poſteros delata, præcipui.* Moreover they ſay plainly both of thoſe, I have ſpoken of before, that fled into, and lived in the deſarts, and mountains of *Britain*; and of theſe, that went into *Scotland*, that they lived a true monasticall, and moſt holy life. *Piis viris ac Religioſis, perſecutionum metu in Eremos, ac ferarum luſtra concedentibus, ubi expertes injuriarum, vere monaſticam, ſanctiſſimamq; exegerunt vitam.* And ſuch were the *Scottiſh* Monks in this time, and ſo quietly continued there, untill the time of *Maximus* called Emperour, who perſecuted the *Scots*, and Baniſhed with others, alll *Scottiſh* Prieſts, and Monks out of that Countrey: *Exulabant per idem tempus, Chriſti Sacerdotes ac Monachi, quicunq; Scotici erant nominis.* Yet their baniſhment from thence, was not their ending, or deſolation, but only

an

an exilement from those parts, named *Scotland*; for, from the coming of S. *Regulus* out of *Achaia* in the year 369, and King *Hirgustus* of the *Picts*, founding a Monastery for him, and his Monks, (of which I shall speak more hereafter,) many of these *Scottish* Culdees joyned with them in monasticall life, there at S. *Andrews*. *Fuere in eo à primæva ejus conditione Sacerdotes Dei cultores vulgo appellati.* Others of them banished by *Maximine* were seated in the *Hebrides* Islands, *quorum magna Pars in* Hebrides *delata*; and there in the Island *Iona*, these banished Priests, and Monks had a famous monasterie, where they continued in *Hector Boethius* his time; both Monks, and Nunns in one Monastery, in, and according to our old Monasticall manner in many places. *Exulabant Christi sacerdotes, ac monachi, quicunq; Scotici erant nominis, quorum magna pars in Hibredes delata, in Iona Insula sacrum constituere Cœnobium; multis vera pietati deditis, ad hanc nostram ætatem insigne; Dubium, an viris, an fœminis sanctitate plus pollentibus; nam secretis ædibus religiosam colebant vitam.* Veremund. Hector. Boeth. & alii.

These were neither Benedictine nor Egyptian Monks: and King *Fergusius*, restoring these banished monks or Priests regular, being very learned, to instruct and teach the people, founded them Cells and Veremund. Hist. Scotor. Hector. Boeth. Scotor. Hist. lib. 7.

The long continuance of the holy *Culdeys* here.

mansions to such end. *Qui exulerant Monachos, reduces mirâ charitate amplexus, ut populum verè imbuerent pietate, structis ad id, patrio ritu, cellulis quibusdam, ad vitæ necessaria prædiis donavit.* And here, in, and about *England*, these *Culdeys* were, and continued the most Religious monks our Antiquities remember, in *Giraldus Cambrensis* his time, who testifieth of such in the holy Island *Enthli*, or *Berdesey*; where then there were infinite number of Saints bodies buryed. *Jacet autem extra* Lyhn *Insula modica, quam Monachi inhabitant religiosissimi, quos calibes vel colideos vocant. Hæc Insula* **Enhli** *cambricè vocatur, & lingua* Saxonica **Berdesey**, *& in ea (ut fertur) infinita sanctorum sepulta sunt corpora.* Both the Annales of Wales, and our Protestant Welsh Antiquaries witness, that after the destruction of the famous monastery of *Bangor*, by King *Ethelfred* of *Northumberland*, twenty thousand Britains flying his and his Pagans cruelty, fled into this Island, and there lived Eremites to their Death: whom the inhabitants in those parts in their language thereupon call, **yr ugain mil Sant.** *Referunt Historiæ Cambriæ post Banchorenses Canobii per Ethelfredum Northumbrium vastationem, Christianorum viginti millia, ut Saxonum cru-*

Girald. Camb. Itiner. Cambr. l. 2. c. 6.

Enlly, or Enllif.

Enlly.

Hist. Cambriæ David Powell annot. in Girald. Cambr. Itiner. Cambr. l. 2. cap. 6.

crudelitatem vitarent, in hanc Insulam confugisse; atque ibi Eremiticam vitam traducentes fato concessisse, quos ejus Regionis Incolæ Yr ugain nil Sant *appellant.* Such a number of holy saints at one time, and in one place of our old Religious, and their holy successors continually after, untill Protestants late desolation of such sacred Orders and monuments here, may not be forgotten.

The Seventh Chapter.

The holy Orders and Rules which S. Regulus *Monk and Abbot in* Achaia, *brought thence into* Britain, *and ſetled here; and* S. Ninian *a* Britan, *brought up at* Rome, *and thence ſent Apoſtle hither, planted here.*

THus I have made a brief memory of ſome of our old, Apoſtolick, and monaſticall Fathers, with the manner, and order of Life they lived and profeſſed here; either from the dayes of the Apoſtles; or at leaſt from the time of the happy converſion of this moſt noble Kingdom, honoured with the moſt illuſtrious title of, *The firſt Chriſtian Kingdom in the world*, long before the time of S. *Paul*, or S. *Anthony*, S. *Pachomius*, or any monks in *Egipt*, which Antiquities deliver unto us. Now I am to make ſome ſhort recital of ſuch monaſticall men as are remembred to have come hither into Britain, and profeſſed, or taught monaſticall converſation here, after the beginning and ſetling monaſticall order in *Egipt*; S. *Pachomius* being noted to be the

the first, writing his Rule about the year of Christ 340. by common computation of Chronologers.

S. Regulus, Abbatus vir sanctissimus, a most holy man (who, with divers monks brought into this Kingdom the holy Relicks of *S. Andrew* the Apostle, in the time of *Hierguſtus*, King of the Country of *Otholinia* in the north of Britain, where they landed, and setled themselves, as our Antiquaries deliver, in the year of Christs Nativity 369. *fuit annus Virginei partus supra trecentesimum sexagesimum Nonum*) offereth himself the first, to be remembred of such extern monastical Professors, he being styled a Father and master to many monks farre hence before his coming hither. Our Antiquaries finde many renowned men here, in those parts at this time, *Damianus* a Priest, *Gelasius, Thebaculus*, and *Merinatus* Kinsmen of *Damianus*, Deacons. *Nerius, Elusenius, Merinus, Maccabæus*, and *Severinus* monks, *Monachi*; with many other men of renowned piety; whereof some came hither with *Regulus, Abbatus; horum nonnulli cum Regulo Abbato in* Albionem *devenêre*. And though this same *Regulus* came so lately into Britain, as I have remembred, and somwhat after *S. Pachomius* his time, being then old in years; yet he was a Religious man, of great fame, long before in the time of *Constantius*, Emperour before *Julian*, and the

Veremond. & Hector. Boeth. Hist. Scot. l. 6. Raph. Holinsh. hist. of Scotlan.

chiefeſt of them, *ex illis præcipuus*; whom *Conſtantius* ſent to the relicks of *S. Andrew*, and Abbot of many monks, which will make him a Religious man, before the writing of *S. Pachomius* his Rule; nor was he an Egyptian, but a Greek monk; *fuit Regulus Græcus monachus*, born in Achaia, *Achaia oriundus*, Father and maſter of many Religious men in the City *Patræ*, where *S. Andrew* was martyred, and his holy Relicks, preſerved, untill tranſlated by Conſtantius, *multorum veræ pietati addictorum in Patris civitate Pater atque præceptor*. And being admoniſhed by heavenly warrant, to bring with his holy company, part of theſe ſacred Relicks, into Albion in our Britain; his firſt Entertainment of King *Hierguſtus*, coming to viſit the holy Relicks, was in proceſſion with his Prieſts and monks in holy attire: *Venientem ad ſe Regulus cum ſociis pio apparatu, cum Sacerdotum ac Monachorum religioſa deductione, in hymnis & canticis, accepit* Theſe Prieſts and Deacons before remembred of S. *Regulus* holy company; prove apparently, that as they came not from near unto, but far from *Egipt*; ſo they differed much from Egiptian monks, which our Proteſtant Antiquaries would have brought into the Weſt, conſiſting only (as they ſay) of Laymen, neither Prieſts nor Deacons. And King *Hierguſtus* his founding them a Church and monaſtery, with all things neceſſary

ceſſary for Prieſts and Clergymen, to offer the holy ſacrifice of the Maſs, and execute other Prieſtly Functions, and placing Prieſts there to perform perpetually ſuch ſacred duties: doe aſſure us, they were not Lay and unlearned men: *Struxit & haud procul à Palatio ſacram ædem divo Apoſtolo dicatam, ornavit & id Templum donariis ampliſſimis, cyphis, calicibus, pelvibus ex argento auroque, ac alia pretioſa ſupellectili in ſacrorum uſum quæſita: Sacerdotibus ad divina perpetuò exequenda ibidem conſtitutis.*

And to manifeſt this more fully, our old **Culdeys**, holy religious Prieſts, were joyned with theſe men in their Church, monaſtery, order, and manner of life, even from the firſt founding of that *Cœnobium* monaſtery: *fuêre in eo à primæva ejus conditione, primum ſacerdotes, Dei cultores vulgo appellati.* And after the inſtituting of S. *Auguſtine*'s learned Order of Canon Regulars, they alſo joyned there with them; who, as the others, were moſt holy, religious, and learned men: *Inde viri divi* Auguſtini *Inſtituti, (canonicos vulgus Regulares vocat) & inter utroſq; non tam eruditionis, quam probatiſſimarum virtutum, veraq; Pietatis cultu inſignes: quibus hoc temporis nihil magis curæ, quam ut ſacra ritè ac religioſo apparatu agantur: curenturque ritè, quæ ad Divini Inſtituti attinent cultum; &*

cum

cum à Divinis etiam datur, ut summa diligentia incumbatur literis.

And it was not long time, but our old British Monks joyned with these of S. *Regulus* his company: for we read in the life of S. *Cadoens* our renowned monk, Abbot, Bishop and martyr, that lived in the time of Saint *Gyldas*, a famous preacher before S. *David* was borne, who had been thrice at *Hierusalem*, seaven times at *Rome*, was an Abbot in *Wales*; where, being rich, the son of S. *Gundlens* a King or great Prince, he fed, and maintained 100 Clerks, *Clericos*, daily; so many poor people; and so many widows; besides strangers, and guests resorting to him; and yet was Abbot, and ruled many Monks; *licèt enim Abbas, multos sub se monachos regeret.* This most holy man neither *Egyptian* nor *Benedictine* Monk, went to S. *Andrews* in *Scotland*, and there joyned with S. *Regulus* his Monks, continued there seven years, preaching and converting many to Christ, wrought many miracles, and founded another Monastery in those parts. So soon were these holy Greek Monks of *Achaia*, our old **Culdees**, with other our ancient Monks here, and Saint *Augustine's* Canon-Regulars, united and joyned here together.

Manuscr. antiq. in vita S. Cadoci Epi. & Mar. Capgrav. in eodem.

And because I have now spoken of this so great religous Piety, received, and professed among those Northern Inhabitants of this great

great Kingdom, of *Britain*, then called *Pictis*; both time, and place call upon me, to remember next, as living in this time; and preaching, living, and dying in this place, our most renowned *Britain* S. *Ninian*, born here in *Britain*; but being nephew, sisters son, to the most religious, holy, and learned in those dayes, S. *Martine* Bishop of *Towers*, was much directed by him; and to make his proceedings more safe, and secure to be professed & followed, was regularly brought up, and taught the Faith and mysteries of truth at *Rome*; *erat Romæ regularitèr fidem & mysteria veritatis edoctus*. This education or teaching of him regularly, and in *Rome*, among so many regular, and monasticall men, (if we had no other warrant,) will give some proof unto us, that he was a man of such holy profession, living regularly or by Rule; of which his nearness in Blood, education, and direction, unto, and by S. *Martine*, that glorious Bishop, and Founder of his holy Order, will also give testimony: nor may we rationally think that his most vertuous uncle otherwise instructed, and directed in his course of life, this his holy, and beloved nephew S. *Ninian*; then he did his other renowned nephew of this Nation S. *Patrick*; both his known Scholar, and a professed Monk of his newly instituted Order, as shall more appear in S. *Patrick* hereafter. And it is evident

S. *Ninian* his holy Apostolick Order; he lived with his Priests and others in community.

vident by the old writer of his life, *Capgrave*, and others; that being a Bishop and Apostle, ordained Priests, consecrated Bishops, and divided the whole Country, into certain Parishes, *ordinavit Presbyteros Episcopos consecravit, & totam terram per certas Parochias divisit.* And approving that holy monasticall Order, and manner of life which S. *Regulus* had there setled, and the holy Culdeys professed; hee himself in his Episcopall See lived, and conversed *cum fratribus* with his Priests, and Clergie his brethren, as S. *Martine*, and other Bishops here before remembred, did. And the very Gardiner himself was a brother, and with others so lived: *Vocat fratrem cui fuerat horti cura commissa.* All that lived there then were called brethren, and his brethren; He did pray, eat, and drink with them, in one place, and Refectory; eating hearbs and roots together at one table; *Refectorium cum fratribus intravit*; there they called him father, *Pater*, and so as children obeyed him in all things, as such a Ruler and Governour, besides his Apostolick power and authority, by which he had command over all, which then were Christians in the most parts of *Britain*, to whom he was sent Apostle by the Pope of *Rome*. *Audiens Romanus Pontifex, quosdam in occiduis* Britanniæ *partibus nec dum fidem Christi suscepisse, ad Episcopatus gradum* Ninianum *consecravit,*

Manuscr. antiq. in vit. S. *Ninian.* Capgr. in eodē Hector. Boeth. histor.

consecravit, & promisso Genti data benedictione Apostolum destinavit. Our *Scottish* writers say he was the Apostle, or renowned teacher both of *Scots, Picts,* and *Britains,* and so was had in great Reverence, by that name, of all that inhabited *Albion.* Ninianus *Episcopus sanctitate & miraculis clarissimus, ac casa candida pontificalis in Galdia sedis primus Institutor: ubi & eadem condidit divo* Martyno *suo Avunculo sacram Scotorum videlicet, Pictorum, Britannorumq; Doctor; & Pedonomus non vulgaris, & eo nomine omnibus, qui Albionem incolant, vel hac nostra ætate in multa veneratione habitus.* And both in time, learning, and holyness, they compare him with those greatest Lights, and Doctors, both of the *Latin,* and *Greek* Church S. *Ambrose,* S. *Augustine,* S. *Basile,* and S. *Cyrill*; That which is said of him before, that he ordained Priests, consecrated Bishops, and divided the whole Countrey by certain Parishes, *& totam terram per certas Parochias divisit,* and interpreting these Parishes to have been presbyterall for Priests, and not Episcopall for Bishops, by his constituting Priests to have charge over them, *Presbytero cui curam Parochiæ Pontifex commiserat,* doth give argument unto us, that these so divided Priests alone, in such their Parishes, neither did, none could in such his division, live monastically in Community with others. And so

Veremond. Hist. Scot. Hector. Boeth. Scot. Hist. li. 7. fol. 119.

ſo paiſh Churches for Prieſts muſt needs be more antient in ſome places here, then ſome would have them to be. Yet we cannot think but that thoſe Prieſts, which he ordained, and lived continually in the Cathedrall, and Epiſcopall Churches of the Biſhops, he here conſecrated; lived with their Biſhops; and theſe with them in community, and Apoſtolick manner; as S. *Ninian* and his Clergy, and other holy Biſhops before remembred, did, with their Prieſts, and Clergies regular; not any one inſtance yet given, or found to the contrary; but divers hereafter to be brought; that, it is ſo now, and long time after, continued.

The

The Eight Chapter.

The holy Rule and Order, which S. Palladius an Apostle in Britain, *and before a Monk in* Greece, Syria, *and* Mount Carmelus, *instituted, and used here.*

NOw let us come or return again, to the *Scots*, neighbours to this *Pictish* Nation, and to their Apostle, holy S. *Palladius*, sent unto them by S. *Celestine* Pope, as S. *Ninian* was, unto the *Picts*; though with difference, especially concerning the two peoples, that *Ninian* was especially sent to preach unto; who had not received the Faith of Christ, but yet lived in *Paganism*. The other S. *Palladius* was, as our *Scottish* writers say, sent by Pope *Celestine*, to the believing Scots, to keep, or drive away the *Pelagian Heresie*, which had infected a great part of *Britain*, and to reduce the people rightly to true Piety; from which, by continual cruelty of warrs, they had a little erred. Palladius *Episcopus à Celestino Pontifice ad* Scotos *in Christum credentes, missus, ut* Pelagianam *hæresim, quæ jam magnam* Britanniæ *partem infecerat,*

Vereman. hist. Scotor. Hector. Boeth. Scotor. hist. lib. 7. fol. 132, 133.

rat, à ſcotorum gente arceret; populumq; ad veram pietatem; à qua, continua bellorum atrocitate, paulum aberraverat, ritè reduceret. Others write, he was firſt, or chiefly ſent to the *Scots* in the Countrey called *Ireland*; where the old *Scots* lived, and were not yet Chriſtians, but infidels; and they rejecting, and refuſing him; the honour of their converſion being reſerved, to our moſt holy Apoſtle, a *Britain*, *S. Patrick*: S. *Palladius* arrived among the Scots of Britain, being alſo ſent unto them, and among them, chiefly exerciſed his Legantine Apoſtolick power, and commiſſion; though ſomtime by himſelf, or his Diſciples, he preached unto the *Britains*, not out of his Apoſtolick Commiſſion. And among the *Scots*, with whom he moſt converſed, he found *Monks*, and **Culdeys** of ſuch holineſſe, and learning, that before the coming of S. *Palladius*, (the firſt Biſhop of the *Scots*, conſecrated by the Pope for them;) all their Biſhops were choſen out of their *Monks* & *Culdeys*; *Erat Palladius primus omnium, qui Sacrum inter Scotus egere Magiſtratum, à ſummo Pontifice Epiſcopus creatus; cum antea populi ſuffragiis, ex monachis & Culdeis, Pontifices aſſumerentur.* We may not conceive, but theſe *Biſhops* of the Scots, being *Culdeys*, and monkes before their election, and conſecration, lived monaſtically after, with their regular Prieſts and Clergyes

Veremond. & Hector Boeth. ſupra. Holinſh. Hiſt. of Scots. Jo. Bal. lib. de ſcript. centur. 1. in Palladio.

gyes being the use and custome both of Britaines, Picts and Scots so to doehere; and long time after this, yea after the coming of S. *Augustine*, many *Bishops* leaveing their episcopall charge, lived monastically under the Regiment of Abbots, and in obedience to them: and except S. *Bede* and others deceive us, this was approved in our *Councell*, under S. *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; Decreeing that Bishops, who were Monkes, should not goe from one place to another; from one monastery to another unlesse it were by the dimission of their proper Abbot, but remain in that obedience, which they promised at the time of their conversion; and this was the fourth *Canon* of that *Councell*. *Quartum Capitulum, ut Episcopi, Monachi, non migrent de loco ad locum, hoc est, de Monasterio, nisi per dimissionem proprii Abbatis, sed in eo permaneant obedientia, quam tempore suæ Conversionis promiserunt.* And we read but of two Bishops, which S. *Palladius* consecrated there; one was *Tervanus*, whom he constituted *Archbishop* of the *Picts*. *Tervanum Archiepiscopum Pictorum constituit.* The other was *Servanus*, whom he ordained Bishop of the *Orchades Islands*. *Servanum Episcopum Palladius ad Orchades Insulas misit, ut populum rudem Christianæ pietate institueret.* Nor may we well doubt but that this Archbishop of the Picts, and

Concil. Hertfordien. sub S. Theodor. c. 4. Bed histor. Anglor. lib. 4. cap 4. Matth. Westmonast. Chro.

 their

their Bishops there ordained a little before by their Apostle S. *Ninian*, lived with their Clergye, as S. *Ninian*; and those Bishops did; and as S. *Servanus* the other Bishop, who lived Monastically in his monasterie, with his holy monks, or Clergie regular, whereof S. *Kentegern*, that most renowned Apostle after, to many Nations, was one: and lived in monasticall discipline in his monasterie; *Intra monasterii septa* with him. And the very Officers of his monastery, Cook, and such, received habits of Religion there: *Cocus habitum Religionis assumens*. We read also that S. *Palladius* himself, before he was sent Apostle to these parts, did live a religious monasticall life in mount *Carmelus*, a Disciple to S. *John* Patriarch of *Hierusalem*; both Catholick, and Protestant Antiquaries delivering it unto us. Palladius *Graecus* Johannis Hierosolymorum *Patriarchae quadragesimi quarti, dum adhuc Eremi Cultor, solitaria* Syriæ *loca*, Carmelum *praecipuè, incoleret*, (Nicholao Harmilio *teste*,) *Discipulus fuit*. And they say, he was sent by S. *Celestine* Pope, both to the *Britains*, and *Scots*; to drive the *Pelagian* Heresie from the *Britains*, and reduce the *Scots* to true piety, from which they had somewhat erred. *Hic à Celestino* Romanorum *Pontifice Antistes mittebatur, ut* Pelagianam *haeresin*, (*quæ tunc magna* Britanniæ *partem inquinaverat*,) à Britannorum gente

S. Asaphus in vita S. Kentegerni. Capgr. in eodem.

Nicol. Harmil. apud Jo. Bal. lib. de Script. Britan. Ballenden. in Palladio Græco.

gente arceret, atq; Scotorum *populum, ad veram pietatem, a qua* Bellorum *atrocitate paululum aberrarat, rite reduceret.* So that being both a renowned Schollar, and Disciple in Monasticall discipline, to such a glorious master, in so noble, and monasticall a place, for religious life and piety, as mount *Carmelus*, (the sacred mother of that most antient Order of *Carmelus*, or the *Carmelites*; taking their name thence) was; and now being an Apostle both in *Britain*, and *Scotland*, to bring all things in them, to such holy order and Rule, as he should think best; we should do great injurie, both to that our Apostle, and to that holy Religion, he had so worthily professed; if we should seem to think, he communicated it to none here, nor brought up any of his Disciples in that sacred Rule, or such as joyned with it. And indeed we cannot well deny but that he brought up the chiefest here, even *Tervanus*, Archbishop, in such manner and Order: for our Antiquaries both assure us that he baptized him being a childe. *Tervanum infantem Lustrico laverat fonte*; and so brought him up with others, of such holy manner of life; that he was Archbishop, and baptized the glorious S. *Kentegern* a childe, and brought him up, with many Disciples in such monastical life, as he neither did, nor could learn of any, but his most worthie Father, and Tutor in such holy

S. Asaphus & Capgrav. supra

things, S. *Palladius* our Apostle; who had both learned, and professed such monasticall Order of life, at mount *Carmelus*, with that great Patriarch of *Hierusalem*; and made that order famous, so farr from *Carmelus* unto the uttermost ends of *Britain*, making it here, either proper in it self, or united to others more antiently here; one of our antient Monastical Rules or Orders, long before S. *Benedict*, Father, and first founder of *Benedictine* Monks, was borne. And it continued here, with glorious successors, and succession in many generations; and many of them were Apostolick Preachers unto, and converters of many Nations, and Countries to Christ; as I shall more expresly remember in S. *Kentegern*, Disciple to the chief Disciple of S. *Palladius*; and otherwise hereafter; when yet the name of either *Egyptian*, or *Benedictine* Monks is not remembred in our Antiquaries, (to my reading,) to have been in any part of our *Britain*, nor until our English Nation was wholly, or for the most part, happily converted to the faith of Christ, and our Church of *England* founded, and established in blessed, and perfect order.

S. Palladius his Order different from Benedictine and Egyptian Monks.

Most sure we are, that this most worthie Apostle, could not then, or before, when he was a Monk, have any combination with either *Benedictine* or *Egyptian* Monks

Monks; the first then were not in the world. And to those of *Egipt*, S *Palladius* must needs be a stranger, as also to all there, *Egypt* being then infected with the *Arrian* heresie; against which he was a professed enemy, opposing, and to his power rooting it out, with all other errours, and abuses, wheresoever he came, especially among the *Scots* and *Picts*; And for such Reformation, and not their conversion, (the *Scots* being converted before, as also many of the *Picts* by Saint *Ninian*) he is called Apostle of the *Scots*, by Posteritie. *Scotos Pictosque à quibusdam Superstitionculis, scor. gentilibusque ritibus, nondum in illo populis exterminatis, purgavit, ob quas res* Scotorum *Apostolus à Posteritate est appellatus.* For place of Birth, Education, & Conversation, S. *Palladius* was a remote stranger unto *Egypt*, all his life. *Palladius Græcus*, *Palladius* a Grecian by Countrey; *Palladius Græcus Monachus*, a Monk there, a Monk in *Syria*, a Monk of *Carmelus*; and Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, when he was sent Apostle hither: So that, as wee may assure our selves, he knew, and allowed the Rule of Saint *Regulus*, that came from *Achaia* hither, the Rule of Saint *Basile*, and the *Grecians*, the Rule of *Carmelus*, and the Religious Rules in *Rome*, whence *Britain* had received Monasticall men, and Orders be-

Veremun. hist. Hector Boeth. Scotor. hist. l. 7. Raphael. Holinshed hist.

fore, and so lately by saint *Ninian*; so we cannot see, how by moral Possibility, Saint *Palladius* could have knowledge of, or combination with *Egyptian* Monks, to receive or allow any Monastical Rule or Order of *Egypt*.

The Ninth Chapter.

The most holy, and learned Monastical Rule of Lyrinum, *which our Apostolick Legates,* S. Germanus, S. Lupus, *and* S. Severus *brought hither, and setled here in* Britain.

NOw next unto S. *Palladius*, Apostle here, S. *Germanus*, and *Lupus*, sent Legates, and Apostles hither by the same Pope S. *Celestine*, offer themselves to be remembred, not only for time, and cause, but because, (as Antiquaries prove unto us) S. *Palladius*, well acquainted with the Pope of Rome, and of the state of Britain after his coming hither, and seing how troubled it was with the *Pelagian* heresie, which *Agricola* the *Pelagian* had dispersed here,

by

by informing S. *Celestine* Pope thereof, was occasion and meanes of their mission hither to roote it out. *Ad actionem Palladii Diaconi Papæ Celestini Germanum Autissiodorensem Episcopum, vice sua mittit, & disturbatis hæreticis Britannos ad Catholicam fidem reduxit.* Here we see, with what greatest power (*vice sua* in place of the Pope,) they were sent hither by him, with the greatest Authority to reforme, and set in order, what soever they found fit to be reformed. And for the matter how in question, about monasticall order, and Profession, what they altered, if they changed any thing, and whether they setled any other Order here, then had bin received, and professed before, we cannot better informe, or assure our selves, what it was, or what it was most like to be, then by takeing notice from antient, and approved writers whether they were before religious; and of what Orders; it not being probable, that they would neglect their owne known and professed order, to advance others more unknown, and stangers unto them; Especially, if their own Rule and Order, which brought forth such renowned, Apostolick, holy, learned men, as they were famously known to be; was not singular unto them therin; But such a mother and Nurse to all Professors of it, in that time as it was; Which supposed, we may rest sufficiently assured, that these our renowned A-

Prosp. Chron. Marianus Scot. ætate 6. lib. 2. anno 430.

postles, were of the Rule, and Order of *Lyrinum*, then most famous in externe Nations.

An old Brittish Historian, almost a thousand years since in his manuscript history of the first Institution of Ecclesiasticall Office, haveing occasion to speak of these our glorious Apostles, whence they were, and what they effected here; absolutly affirmeth of them both, that they were Monks in *Lyrinum* monastery, under the worthy Abbot there, S. *Honoratus*, and S. *Porcarius*, *Qui beatum Lupum & beatum Germanum Monachos in eorum Monasterio habuerunt, sub norma Regulæ*; And there they used the same old Church-service, which is ascribed to S. *Marke*, the Evangelist; which S. *Gregory Nazianzen*, S. *Basil*, S. *Anthony*, S. *Paul*, S. *Macharius*, S. *Malchus* used, as other fathers, *secundum ordinem Patrum decantaverunt*, and S. *Cassianus*, and *S. Honoratus*, at *Lyrinum*, and *Cesarius*, S. *Porcarius*, S. *Germanus*, and S. *Lupus* at *Lyrinum* Monastery, who preached in Britain: and produceth the old written Lives of both S. *Germanus* and S. *Lupus*, to witnes and prove as much. *Quæ vita beati Germani Episcopi Antisiodorensis, & vita beati Lupi adfirmant*; which is still continued in the life of S. *Lupus*, that he was a Monke of *Lyrinum*, under S. *Honoratus* Abbot there. *Ipse superni spiritus vigore incitatus Lupus, exi-*

Author. antiq. vit. S. Germani & S. Lupi Manuscr. antiqu. Britan. de prima Institutione Ecclesiast. officii.

Surius & Franciscus Hæræus ex antiquo Author. in vit. S. Lupi Episcopi, Trer.

mia

mia claritudinis virum Beatum Honoratum alacri animo statuit invisere. Erat is Abbas primæ habitationis Lyrinensis Monasterii, ad quem ubi pervenit, eius Institutioni cervicem ultro subdens, Dominicæ servitutis jugum mansuetissimis humeris accepit, omnigenis vigiliis & jejuniis se afficiens. And after he was chosen to be Bishop, he still lived in such holy monasticall manner, with his Clerkes and Disciples, of which many proved renowned and glorious Apostolick Prelates; and one of them, S. *Severus* Bishop of *Trevers*, was sent Apostolick associate hither into Britaine, with S. *Germane*, in his second mission to these parts.

Twenty years together he never went to bed but lay upon a board. His garment was continually haire-cloth, never more but one coat; every other night he watched in Prayer. He used to fast two dayes together; on the the Sabbath he eat nothing but barly bread. *Sabbatham non nisi panis hordeacei esu transmittebat*; he wept continually, *fletibus ora, semper in futura intentus, indefessè rigabat.*

Constantius the old learned priest, and writer of S. *Germans* life, proveth that he lived in this Monasticall order, and manner of life, after he was Bishop, with his monks, founding a Monasterie to such purpose, neat unto, and in sight of his Episcopal See. *Vir Beatissimus in conspectu Antisiodorensis Oppidi,* Constant. Presbyter in vita S. Germani. Antisiodoren. Harcus. & alii

pidi, interpoſito Itanna flumine, Monaſterium collocavit, alternis vicibus nunc Eccleſiam, nunc Monaſterium, quaſi duæ cœleſtium militum viſitans, ut certantibus ſtudiis emulantes ad perfectionis gloriam provocaret. And thus he lived both before, and after his coming into *Britain*. The auſteritie and ſtrictneſs of his life, he thus doth abbreviate. *From the day he received holy Prieſthood, unto the end of his life, he lived in ſo great auſterity of body, that he never took bread of wheat, or Rye, nor any wine, or vinegar, nor oyl, nor pulſe or ſalt to ſavour any thing. Upon the day of the reſurrection and nativity of our Lord, he took two potions, in which the taſte of wine was ſo allayed with too much water, as the ſharpneſſe of vinegar uſeth to be tempered in great mixtures. In his refections firſt he taſted aſhes, then he took barley bread, which he moiſtened: and this he took ſometime in the midſt, and ſometime in the end of his meal. His garment was a hood and coat all times alike, but next his body alwaies hair-cloath: two little turned beams went about the compaſs of his bed, containing aſhes caſt into the brimm, which by daily impreſſion condenſed together, and not ſtirred up, were ſo hard as the earth; covered with a hair-cloath, and one little cloath upon him; nothing under his head to bear it up; but lay ſo, flat upon the earth. In the night, he never*

never put off his garment, seldom his girdle, seldome his shoes: girded about always with a leather thong, and a casket containing Reliques of Saints. He did figh, and pray continually. He kept hospitality with a particular observation for all, without any exception of persons: he gave them his house, and fasted himself, feasted them, and with his own hands washed all their feet. Such was the most holy life, and conversation of this our most holy Apostle, and his second associate hither, S. *Severus*, disciple to S. *Lupus*; the first now Bishop of *Trevers*; *totius Sanctitatis vir*; a man of all Sanctitie, renowned among Apostles, *inter Apostolos Gentibus primæ Germaniæ verbum vitæ prædicabat*; preached the word of life to the Nation of the chiefest *Germanie*.

How holy, and learned the order of *Lyrinum* was, we may best learn of S. *Cæsarius*, Archbishop of *Arles*, being therein a Monk before, who speaking of this renowned Order, and Monastery with the Monks thereof, saith. *Ab Oriente usque ad occidentem, from the east to the west, in all places almost, where Christian Religion is maintained, there, to Christs glory, your most Christian conversation is preached. The blessed, and happy Iland of* Lyrinum, *though it seemeth to be little, and plain, yet is it known to have sent unto heaven innumerable Mountains. This is she, which bringeth up*

S. Cæsarius Arelaten. homil. 25. ad Monac. Tom. 2. Bibliоth. Patrum.

The holy and learned Order of Lyrinum which they professed.

up moſt famous Monks, and through all Provinces ſendeth forth moſt excellent Prieſts. Hæc eſt, quæ eximios nutrit monachos, & preſtantiſſimos per omnes provincias erogat ſacerdotes. And if it receive any children, it maketh them fathers; and whom it nouriſheth little ones, it maketh them great ones; thoſe whom it receiveth young ſoldiers, it maketh Kings. For all, whomſoever this happie and bleſſed habitation receiveth, it uſeth to lift them up with the wings of charity, and humility, to the high tops of vertues, and ſo to Chriſt. This holy Iſland, as an excellent mother, and ſingular nurſe of all good men, received me a little one ſometime with the armes of piety, and contended no little ſpace to bring up, and nouriſh me; of your converſation not only men in the world, but Angels in heaven do glorie: for your holy Obedience, and unſpotted works, the whole world doth admire, and love you. Do you therefore, by the help of God, what you have alwayes done; and ſo keep your charity, meekneſs, humility, and obedience; that, what is believed of you in all the world, may be alwayes increaſed by the immaculate works of your converſation: that whoſoever ſhall deſerve to ſee you, may utter with his mouth that ſentence, which that Queen pronounced, who in a figure of the church deſired to ſee Solomon: *that every one ſeeing you as the living Temples of Chriſt, adorned with*

Margarites

Margarites of good works, ſmelling ſweet with perfumes of vertues, preſently breaking forth with voice of exultation, may ſay with that Queen: True is that ſpeech, which I heard in my Countrey, of the converſation of this holy Congregation. Behold, now in truth I have proved, that ſcarce the half part was told me; becauſe I have attained to ſee greater things with mine eyes, then I heard before with my eares. And when every one ſhall ſee you, as Angels placed on earth, and rejoycing ſhall utter ſuch things with his mouth, and happily tell it through the whole world; conſider and behold how great glory is to be encreaſed of you, and how deſired and holy a joy will be had of all Churches throughout the whole world, per univerſum mundum.

Thus hath this holy learned, glorious Saint, Monk, and after Archbiſhop in thoſe parts, written; and upon certain knowledge, and his own experience, teſtified, and delivered to Poſteritie, of this renowned Monaſterie, and religious Order, as a moſt holy, and learned nurſe and Mother, to all, or moſt Nations; and not a Schollar, or learner unto any, *Egypt*, or other; but rather a Tutrix to *Egipt*, as to other Nations; except we could thruſt *Egipt* out of the univerſal world, ſo often, and by ſo great, and certain teſtimony reported, and juſtified here to have had ſo great, and religious

gious relation, and correspondence to, with, and from this most holy, and learned *Lyrinian* order, and Monasterie. It will not be easie to finde, by such an Authour, and Authority, so renowned a Rule, and monastical order in *Egypt*, or any other forayne Nation; Of the glory of *Britain* in this kinde, I shall say more hereafter. In this place it giveth addition to our Noble Countries honour, in this kinde of holy renown, to have received the greatest splendor, and light, it had, thence, by the greatest glories, both of that sacred place, and this part of the world, at that time, *S. Germanus*, *S. Lupus*, and *Severus*; who brought that Rule, and Order hither then, as *S. Caprasius*, *S. Honoratus*, and *Venantius*, had before brought it unto, and setled it in *Lyrinum*s *Island*; bringing it thither out of *Nicomedia* in *Bythinia*, and *Achaia*, quite opposite, and remote from *Egipt*; As *S. Hilarius* Archbishop of *Arles*, successor to the same *Honoratus*, Archbishop also of *Arles*; the old writer of the life of *S. Caprasius*, and others, are ample witnesses. *Transcursis è Nicomedia immensis terra marisque spatiis, vir Domini Caprasius cum duobus, regalibus gemmis, Honorato scilicet & Venantio, Cisalpinam ingressus Provinciam, talibus fidei Lapidibus igne fulgentibus sanctam Insulam illustravit. Quam felix & beata habitatio illius Sancti Lyrinensis*

Script. Antiq. vitæ S. Caprasiis Abbatis. Surius in eodem Tom. 7. Franse. Haræus 1. Junii. S. Hilarius Episc. Arelat. sermone de vita S. Honorati.

Lyrinensis Insulæ, quæ tam præclaris est munita Patronis per Dei Providentiam, ad multorum utilitatem de tam Longinquis & ignotis regionibus adductis. S. *Hilarius* maketh S. *Honoratus*, and his brother S. *Venantius* to be both borne, and to have entred into monastical profession, first in *France*; but moved with the fame, and sanctity of S. *Capracius*, went, and were Schollars, and Disciples to him in *Achaia*, where *S. Venantius* died, and returned not to his Countrey; *Longum est recensere, quem ab illis profectum unusquisque locus traxerit: illud commemorasse sufficiat, etiam* Achaici *litteris sterilitatem ab iis expotitam; ubi & Beatissimus in Christo Venantius ejus Germanus, è vita excessit. Hinc jam vobis Honoratum vestrum Christus reducit.* And he thinketh, there was scarcly any land or Nation, which had not some of their Natives brought up in that Monastery of Lyrinum: *Quæ terra, quæ Natio in Monasterio illius Cives suos nõ habuit?* Therfore we must needes think, and allow; that when so great and glorious men, as S. *Germanus*, and S. *Lupus*, and S. *Severus*, who perfectly, and best know that renowned Order; sent hither Apostolick Legates, to reforme whatsoever Ecclesiasticall disorders, and settle such Rules and orders in all things as they could, and adjudged best; they did at last unite, and joyne, the best and most holy perfections of the

S. Hilarius Arelat. supr.

the Lyrinian Rule, or Order; with those they found here, in that their general Reformation, they made, and established in this kindome of *Britans*, even among the *Scots* also, by some old writers; for our old British historian, who writeth of the begining, and diversity of Eccleſiasticall Office, affirmeth, that S. *Lupus*, and S. *Germanus*; (he placeth *S.* Lupus first,) as they had before in the Monastery of *Lyrinum* sung, and used the Church service ascribed to S. *Mark* the Evangelist, *Ipsum cursum ibibem decantaverunt:* So after they were Bishops, they were sent by the Pope to preach in this kingdome, both to Britains, and Scots; and preached here to both Nations; *& postea in Britannijs vel Scotijs prædicaverunt*; and citeth the old written lives of those renowned Apostolicke Saints in the same sence. And not unprobable, but they left, and setled here, even in our Monasteries, that Church service of *S. Mark*, *S. Gregory Nazianzene*, *S. Basile*, and the *Lyrinan* Monastery, and monks there. For the same antiquity, with others confesseth, that they were tutors, and instructors to S. *Patrick* Apostle of *Ireland*, and cause of his being consecrated Bishop, and of his misſion to the *Scots* and *Britains*, joyning them together, and he used that Church office here, and left it to our monks, and Monasteries. *Qui Beatum Patricium scire taliter literas sacras docuerunt, atque enutrierunt;*

Manuscript. Britan. antiq. supra.

nutrierunt; & ipſum Epiſcopum in Scotiis atq; Britanniis poſuerunt, & ipſum curſum ibidem decantavit. And after him S. *Vnandilecus*, and S. *Gemogillus*, who had 3000 monks in their monaſtery; And many other Abbots with their monks; ſo that this office was called thereupon the *Scots* office, *qui dicitur præſenti tempore Scotorum.* When this Authour wrote, which was before the receiving of the *Roman*, and S. *Gregories* office in thoſe parts of *Ireland* & *Scotland*; and ſuch in *Wales*, and *England*, as confeſſed Chriſt, and were not converted by S. *Gregories* miſſioners, and monks, which only uſed the Roman Gregorian office in Britain at that time; but it was called here, the *Scots* office; becauſe the *Scots* of *Ireland*, old *Scotland*, and the *Scots* of *Britain*, did thus antiently uſe and practiſe it, and no other, nor did they ſo ſoon accept the Gregorian office, as the *Engliſh* did.

This diſtinction or difference only of publick Eccleſiaſtical Office, if there were no other, will ſuffice to anſwer us; that neither our Monks of Ireland, Scotland, or England, could then be either Benedictine, (if ſuch had bin then in the world as indeed they were not,) or Egyptian Monkes. For theſe very Antiquaries themſelves, with others agree; that the Eccleſiaſticall publick office of Egipt, compoſed, or uſed by S. *Athanaſius*, S.

Chromatius, *S. Heliodorus*, and *S. Paulinus*, was another particular Office, quite different, and distinct from this Lyrinian Office or any used in France; *Est & alius cursus orientalis à S. Chromatio & Heliodoro & Beato Paulino, seu Athanasio Episcopo editus, qui in Gallorum Consuetudine non habetur.* And the cited British historian proveth, that S. *Macarius* disciple of *S. Anthony*, used this office, and describeth it as quite distinct, and differing from this Lyrinan, British and Scottish Office, and all others known to be used in all Christian Nations: and of all others most diverse from this; for having made the last mention before of the Lyrinian, and Scottish Office, he immediatly addeth this now cited *est & alius cursus* there is another Ecclesiasticall Course, or office, different from the former, and all others he there recounteth: And describeth it, as *Ioannus Cassianus* doth that office, which the monasteries and Monks of *Thebais*, and Egipt observed, consisting of twelve Psalmes and two lessons both at matten and Evensong. When in other Contryes and Provinces it was quite otherwise. So that in this very chief and principall use, and observation, there was neither unity, nor connection; but much, and great difference, between the Egyptian, and Brittish Monks, both now, and in all former times; such monasticall Church office never heard of, or

used

used by any monks, or monasteries in *Britain*; but only in *Thebais*, and *Egypt*, by so great testimonie.

We have no less proof, or witness of distinction, and difference from their Rules themselves, as far as they are yet preserved; for it is evident by all writers; that the *Egyptian* rule was written by S. *Pachomius*, *Theodorus*, and *Orsiesius*; and in the *Egyptian* tongue, which none of *Lyrinum* or *Britain* understood; and S. *Hieronie* was the first, that translated it into Latine, long after *Lyrinum* order and monastery were perfectly founded, and setled; and our Britain had many monasteries. And there is great difference otherwise, between the *Egyptian* Rule, as it was written by these first Authors of it, and is still extant; and the rule of *Lyrinum*, as it is best remembred by S. *Cæsarius* Archbishop of *Arles*, a monk there before, and published by *Teridius* his nephew, a Priest, and sent to many monasteries; wherein there be many differences from the *Egyptian* rule; and it containeth but 20 Chapters, referring the rest to Abbots; when the *Egyptian* rule consisteth of 128 Chapters, and S. *Benedicts* after of 73 Chapters, or Canons. So that hitherto we cannot finde, either *Egyptian* or *Benedictine* monks in, or near to *Britain*. And so it is evident, that whereas some cite *Eucherius* Bishop of *Lyons*, to have written,

Regula S. Pachomii & S. Hieronymo.

Regula S. Cæsarii seu Teridii in Auctar. Bibliothe. Patrum; Tom. 2.

that S. *Caprasius* and his associates, monks, founders of *Lyrinum* monastery, brought *Egyptian* Fathers into *France*; *Hac videre licet Lyrinensis Sancta Insula nunc possidet venerabilem gravitate Caprasium, veteribus sanctis parem: hac nunc habet sanctos senes illos, qui diversis Cellulis Egyptios Patres nostris Gallijs intulerunt.* That he only compared *France* now unto *Egypt*, famous for Monastical life, as Britain was in former times: and not that these men, or the order of *Lyrinum* came from *Egypt*, as is evident before; and *Eucherius* himself hath so proved, and proveth in the same place, that neither S. *Caprasius*, nor any of his monks, were Egyptians, nor ever were monks in, or lived near to *Egypt*, but in places farr remote, and distant thence, both for space, manners, and conversation of life, even monasticall. There was great difference between the monks of *Achaia*, and *Greece*, whence S. *Caprasius*, S. *Honoratus*, and their Associates came to *Lyrinum*, and the monks of *Egypt*, whence they could not come. And our *Scottish* Historians, who hold that S. *Merinus*, and S. *Nerius*, that came hither with S. *Regulus* out of *Achaia*, with the Relicks of S. *Andrew* the Apostle in King *Hierguſtus* his time, in, or about the year 369 were monks of *S. Basiles* order: but the long being of them monks there before that

Menologium Scotorum Februar. 6. & Septemb. 14.

that time, especially S. *Regulus*, an Abbot long time of many monks at *Patras*; will plead he was a monk in those parts; and that many monks were there before *S. Basile* his Rule was written; and that S. *Basile* himself also, and his glorious Colleague S. *Gregory Nazianzen*, studied their Divinity in a learned *Monastery*, *in monasterio sacris mirabiliter eruditus*: which by all accounts of S. *Basiles* life and death, will sufficiently prove, that *Greece* and *Achaia* had learned monasteries and monks living in monasticall Rule, and order; before S. *Pachomius*, the first monastical Rule-writer in *Egypt*, did, or could write his rule.

Breviar. Romanum in S. Basilio.

The

The Tenth Chapter,

S. Patrick our Noble Britain, *Apostle of* Ireland, *who founded, and instituted many Monasteries with their Rules in* Ireland, *and* Britain; *was a stranger to the monastical Order of* Egypt, *but was of his Uncle S.* Martines *Order, and his own, which he prescribed.*

HAving before made mention of S. *Patrick*, to have been Disciple to these our holy Apostles; and by them also promoted to that dignity Apostolick, both in *Ireland* among the *Scots* there; and by our old Antiquaries, with others, in *Britain*, his native Countrey; finding also he was, before that his high calling, and mission, devoted to monastical religious life, and a professor thereof; and did institute many such foundations in these Countreyes; I must now speak of him and his proceedings, and institutions in that kinde. I have related already that he was Schollar and Disciple to S. *Germane*, and S. *Lupus*, testified to have been *Lyrinian* monks before they were Bishops; and as they

they *sub norma Regulæ ipsum cursum ibidem decantaverunt*, did use in the monasteries of *Lyrinum* that Church service, so different from the *Egiptian*, as I have remembred: so S. *Patrick*, sent hither Apostle, *in Scotia & Britannia ipsum cursum ibidem decantavit*, both among the *Britains*, and in both *Scotlands*; *Ireland*, and the nearer *Scotland* did use and practise the same Ecclesiasticall office; which his Tutors, S. *Germane*, and S. *Lupus* had used before; and did generally settle it among his Disciples, and Auditors in these parts; that in the time of our old cited *Brittish* writer, it was generally called the Ecclesiasticall office, or Church service of the *Scots*, which S. *Mark* the Evangelist had used. *Ipsum cursum qui dicitur præsenti tempore Scotorum, Beatus Marcus decantavit.* And again, *unde & alius cursus, qui dicitur præsenti tempore Scotorum, qui sancta opinione jactatur.* This only with what is said before, maketh it evident unto us; that neither S. *Patrick*, nor any monks, or monasteries of his foundation, where he instituted this Ecclesiastical publick office to be only, and continually practised, and used, were, or possibly could be of any *Egyptian* Order, or Institution; nor of S. *Benedicts* Rule and Order, when this Antiquarie wrote, which was after S. *Gregory* had approved S. *Benedicts* rule, and private Church office for that Order,

S. Patrick used and practised the Lyrinian office in these parts.

der; of which he maketh expreſs mention, and diſtinguiſheth it, and that order thereby, from all other orders and offices, where he ſaith, *Eſt & alius Curſus Beati Benedicti, quem in ſua regula reperis ſcriptum: ſed tamen Beatus Gregorius urbis Roma Pontifex, quaſi Privilegium Monachis ipſius ſua authoritate in vita* S. Benedicti *in Libro Dialogorum adfirmavit. There is another Eccleſiaſtical office of* S. Benedict, *which you finde written in his Rule; but bleſſed* Gregory *Biſhop of the City of* Rome, *granted this as a Priviledg to his monks, by his authority, in the life of* S. Benedict *in his Book of Dialogues.* He diſtinguiſheth alſo this office from the *Roman* office, *à curſu Romano*; which S. *Gregory* generally approved for all others, but *Benedictine* monks; to whom only he allowed S. *Benedict*'s office: And both S. *Gregory* himſelf, his monks in his monaſtery, and thoſe he ſent into *England*, and the whole Church of *Rome*, uſed and practiſed that office. And again both at, and long after the coming of S. *Gregorie*'s miſſion hither, we finde no other Church office uſed here, but this of the *Roman* Church, approved by S. *Gregory*, brought hither by his Diſciples, and miſſioners; and that other called the *Scots* and *Britains* office; both of them joyning and agreeing therein; ſo that it is evident, that here were no *Benedictine* monks in *Britain*,

when this Author wrote; long after S. *Augustine*'s mission hither; and that before the Britains, Scots, and the converted Saxons did receive the Roman S. *Gregorie*'s office in the time of S. *Theodore*, our Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who first came hither above 70 years after S. *Augustine*; the whole Kingdome, Britans, and Scots, monastical men, and others, generally used, that old Lyrinian office, except S. *Gregorie*'s missionaries, which used the Roman Gregorian office; and none the Benedictine use, and office, which was a great part of S. *Benedicts* Rule in many Chapters, and only permitted, and allowed to the monks of his Rule and Order, by S. *Gregory*, and succeeding Popes.

But to returne to our Apostle S. *Patrick*. To know and expresse particularly of what Religious order he was, before he was chosen, and sent Apostle into these parts; and so make estimate, what Rule or Order he most advanced, and settled here, which surely was that which he had professed and most honored himselfe, we must looke into Antiquity; and there we finde it plainly testified by the old writers of his life, *Jocelyn*, and others, that he was of the renowned Apostolick Order of his glorious uncle S. *Martin* Bishop of *Towers*, famous in the whole Christian world: this is confessed by the contenders themselves; the Benedictines, thus affirming.

S. Patrick was of S. Martin his Uncles Order.

Jocelin in vita S. Patrii.

firming. S. Patritium Monachum de Schola Martini Avunculi sui, non de Schola S. Augustini, cum res ipsa clamat, cur enim omisso celeberrimo, & charissimo Avunculo ad Affricanum institutionem transfugeret? cum verò Jocelinus, idem capite 12. vitæ ejus, docet; de S. Martino loquens: Quia idem Sanctissimus Sacerdotum Carbunculus Monachus fuit, Cognato suo Patricio monachicum habitum & ejus instituta tradidit observanda, quæ iste devote susceptis actibus habitui respondentibus adornavit. That Patrick was a Monke of the Schoole of S. Martine his uncle; and not of the schoole of S. Augustine both the thing cryeth out; for why should he, omitting his most famous, and most beloved uncle, fly over to an Affrican Institution? And also Jocelin teacheth the same, in the 12. Chapter of his life, speaking of S. Martine: Because the same most holy Carbuncle of Priests, was a Monk; he gave to his Cosin Patrick monachical habit, and as his Institutes to be observed, which he devoutly receiving, did adorn with acts answerable to the habit. Behold the Institutes and habit of S. Martine, not of S. Augustine, who at that time had not lived a monastical life; Ecce Instituta habitumq; S. Martini, non S. Augustini qui eo tempore nondum monasticam vitam egerat. This they prove thus a little before out of Jocelin and others; Docet hoc clarè Jocelinus in vita

Benedictin. in Apostolatu. tract. 1. sect. pag. 118.

vita S. Patricii, à quo Hiberni seu Scoti, sicut Christianitatem, ita monasticum ordinem didicerunt. Verba ejus de S. Patricio cap. 185. vitæ ipsius hæc sunt. Super cætera indumenta cucullâ candidâ amitiebatur, ut ipsa habitûs forma & colore, monichatus sui speciem, & candidatam humilitatis & innocentiæ repræsentare videretur. Unde & Monachi in Hibernia, S. Patricii sequendo vestigia, per multa temporum volumina, habitu simplici contenti erant, quem ovium ministrabat Lana, qualibet extrinseca tinctura remota. Joceline *teacheth this clearly in the life of S.* Patrick, *from whom the* Irelanders *and* Scots, *as they received Christianity, so also they learned monastical profession.* These be his words of S. *Patrick* in the 185 Chapter of his life. Upon the rest of his apparel, he was cloathed with a white hood, that by the very form and colour of his habit, he might represent the candor, humility, and innocency of monastical profession; from whence the monks of *Ireland*, following the steps of *S. Patrick*, for many revolutions of years, were content with simple habit, which the wool of sheep did minister, without any external tincture at all.

Jocelin in vita S. Patricii. cap. 185.

Thus these men think it to be most clear and certain, that *S. Patrick* was of *S. Martine* his uncles holy Order, and of no *African* Institution, nor of any other. Where-

fore

fore I marvel, why they do thus add afterwards without warrant, against truth, and themselves. *That* S. Martin's *monasticall life came from the* Egyptians, *sufficiently appeareth out of the relation of his Schollar* Severus Sulpitius, *of the manners of Eastern monks. Martini autem monasticam vitam ab Ægyptiensibus profluxisse, satis apparet ex Discipuli ejus Severi Sulpitii relatione, de moribus monachorum Orientalium.* For thus S. *Patrick* should have been of un African institution, Egipt being in Africk; and in deed *Severus Sulpitius* Disciple to S. *Martin*, hath no such thing, but rather the quite contrary; that S. *Martines* Order, and Discipline came neither from Africk, nor properly from any other place, or person; but was his own order, Rule, and Institution: and that very many Monks in France, *fuere ex Martini disciplina*, were of S. *Martines* discipline; and again, *Discipuli ad exemplum beati Magistri instituebantur*, that his Disciples were instituted according to the Example of their blessed Master; and he setteth down the Rule, and order of S. *Martin* and his monasteries, as proper to them without dependence of any Egiptian, or other Order. Nor did *Severus Sulpitius* write of, nor was he acquainted with, the manners of the Egiptian Monks, untill after the death of S. *Martine*, of whom he learned monasticall discipline, as one of his Disciples;

Apostol. Benedictin. supra pag. 118.

Severus Sulpitius in vita S. Martini.

Disciples; as is evident by his own writing of them by relation after. And these men that would now make S. *Martins* Order, to have come from the Egiptians; do not only contradict all others, but themselves also, and their Protestant Antiquary Testators, therin. For they themselves have said before, that S. *Patrick* was of S. *Martins* Schoole in religious Life, *de schola Martini Avunculi sui, non de Schola Augustini*, making Saint *Martin* a master in such things, as S. *Augustin* was; who by them, and all, had, and gave a particular Rule. They have said that S. *Martin* had particular Institutes of his own, and among others delivered them to S. *Patrick* to be observed. *Cognato suo Patricio Monachicum habitum & ejus Instituta tradidit observanda.* If S. *Martin* had a particular habit, and Institutes of his own, *ejus*; he must needs have a particular Rule and Order, consisting of particular habit, and Institutes. They have also said that neither S. *Patrick*, nor S. *Martin* were of any African Institution, but all Egiptian Institutes were of Africk. And the cheifest of the Protestant Testators, plainly testifieth, that S. *Martins* Monks much differred from Egiptian Monks, and his Order could not come or flow from Egypt: for writing as he thought, that S. *Athanasius first brought* Egyptian *monks consisting of lay-men into the west Church*; he imme-

Cambd. Brit. Cornavii Cheshire, pag. 603. edit. an. 1610.

immediately addeth: whereunto after him S. Augustin in Africk, and S. Martin in France, and Congel in Britain, and Ireland adjoyned the function of regular Clergy: where they make these orders diverse, and distinct. And *Pachomius*, being the first writer of any religious Rule in *Egipt*, and writing it in the *Egiptian* tongue, not translated into Latin, or any tongue, S. *Martin* understood: untill by S. *Hierom*, into the Latin, long after S. *Martin* was a monk; There is no way, or current left for S. *Pachomius* his Rule to come, or flow so far to any place, where S. *Martin* lived, and professed monastical life, neither going unto, nor coming near *Egipt*, or any part of *Africk*, by any writer. But certain it is, even by *Severus Sulpitius* himself, his Disciple; and the monks of *Africk* confessing it; that S. *Martin*, for his own renown, and worthiness, was famous in all *Africk*, *Alexandria*, *Egipt*, *Nitria*: *Thebaidas*, *ac per tota Memphitica regna*: and there was almost no place in the world, *nullus fere in orbe terrarum locus*, where S. *Martin* was not renowned even in *Sulpitius* his time, both by his, and the *Africans* confession. How glorious he was in *Britain*, his holy sisters married here, their glorious sons his Nephews, S. *Ninian*, and S. *Patrick*, Apostles here: and by good writers, his own visiting *Britain*, or living here; when he admonished

Regula S. Pachomii inter opera Cassiani in fine. S. Hieronym. ibidem.

Severus Sulpitius, Dialogo de virtutibus monachorum orientalium.

ſhed *Maximian*, *adhuc in Britannia* in *Britain*, do ſufficiently prove: All which neither makes him, nor his ſacred Order, a ſtranger unto *Britain*, or the holy Orders of it: eſpecially, ſeeing he was 26. years Biſhop of *Towers*, and ſo long lived in ſuch monaſticall profeſſion there; that place being then, and long after, the Archiepiſcopal See, to little *Britain*, which our Chriſtian *Britains* then inhabited, and where S. *Martin* founded divers monaſteries of his own.

The

The Eleventh Chapter.

S. Martins *Rule and Order was his own Institution; (not taken, or borrowed from* Egypt, *or any such extern remote place) famous, and renowned in* France, Britain, *and* Ireland.

BUt to learn, and better make known, where, whence, and when, S. *Martin* first learned, and professed Monastical Order, and Discipline, whereof he was such a Tutor to others, and Institutor terwards; we are assured by *Sulpitius* his Disciple, and others, that he was born of Noble, but Pagan Parents at *Sabaria* or *Savona* in *Pannonia*, or *Liguria*, now *Hungary*, *Austria*, and *Istria*; but brought up at *Ticinum*, or *Pavia* in *Italy*. *Martinus Sabariæ Pannoniarum oriundus fuit, sed intra Italiam Ticini altus est, parentibus secundum sæculi dignitatem non infimis, gentilibus tamen.* When he was but ten years old, against his Parents will, he fled to the Church, and became a *Catechumen* in the Religion of Christ, and gave himself wholly to serve God; *mox mirum in modum*

Severus Sulpitius in vita S. Martinii & alii.

dum totus in Dei opere conversus; And being of twelve years age, desired to goe into the wilderness, and had performed it, but for his young years, which he after devoutly performed, *quod postea devotus implevit*.

These places of S. *Martins* birth, education, and visiting monasteries, whose profession and life, he so soon resolved to follow, were farr from *Egipt*, and commerce with it; and allowing, (as all writers do,) S. *Pachomius*, who lived in the 340. year of Christ, to be the first that ever wrote any Rule in *Egipt* for monks; and only in the *Egiptian* tongue, unknown, where S. *Martin* was born, lived, and visited these monasteries, whose order he resolved to keep; by account of the time of S. *Martins* thus visiting them; with resolution to follow them, when he was so young, he dying within this four hundredth year of Christ, 81 years old, *Archadio & Honorio Imperantibus, octogesimo primo ætatis suæ anno*. His visiting these monasteries, and his monastical intention (being but 12. years old) must needs be before the writing of *Pachomius* first *Egiptian* Rule; and the founding of those monasteries he thus visited, with intention to live according to their Rule, (without which no monasterie could be;) must needs, in all probable judgement, be more antient, then S. *Pachomius*,

chomius, *S. Anthony*, *S. Paul* the first Eremite of *Egipt*, or any monastery to be found in History, where they had lived monastically in that Countrey.

And had not force and violence prevailed against S. *Martin*, he had then entred into monastical life in one of those monasteries; for irruption of *Barbarians* then into the Empire, there was made, and published an Imperial Edict, that the sons of old souldiers, such as *S. Martin's* father was; (*Pater ejus miles primùm, post Tribunus militum fuit*,) should be souldiers to the Emperour, (*ut veteranorum filii ad militiam scriberentur*;) and he being betrayed by his own father, *prodente Patre*, envying his holy disposition and intention, when he was but 15 years old, was taken by force, fettered, and tied to the Emperours military service; *raptus & catenatus, sacramentis militaribus implicatus est*, where he served three years; yet living even for that time of warr in great piety. Then came the donative, or dole year of the Emperor, to grant Petitions to his souldiers: *Julianus Cæsar donativum cepit erogare militibus*. And the donative or gift granted to S. *Martin*, was with great difficulty, that, which he desired, to leave the service of the terrene Emperor, and to serve the heavenly, in his long intended perfection; for which purpose he made

choice

choice of S. *Hilary*, that great glory then, of Christs Church, Bishop of *Poictiers* in *Aquitane* in *France*, where he then lived; to be instructed, and directed by him; who, (as the Church of Christ witnesseth of him,) when he was before a married man, lived as in a monastical life. *Qui primum in matrimonio quasi monachi vitam egit*; and much more after the death of his wife, when he was consecrated Priest, and afterwards Bishop, living regularly with his regular or monastical brethren, *cum fratribus*, Priests; as I have spoken of many holy, and renowned Bishops of *Britain*, and other places before.

Breviar. Roman. in S. Martino. Severus Sulpitius in vita S. Martini. & alii.

Breviar. Rom. in S. Hilarii.

And as the Church of Christ best witnesseth in such things, S. *Martin* attained to such exact perfection in Piety, as he proved to be of, by the direction, and instruction of S. *Hilary*. *Tunc Hilarium è prælio hæreticorum revertentem, ut inquit S. Hieronymus, Galliarum Ecclesia complexa est: quem ad Episcopatum secutus est Martinus, qui postea Turonensi præfuit Ecclesiæ, tantumq; ille doctore profecit, quantum ejus postea sanctitas declaravit.* We do not read where, or of whom S. *Martin* learned religious and monastical life and perfection; except in those antient old monasteries in, or near the place of his birth, and education, when he was young; and, of glorious S. *Hilary*; but, by his holy help, and happie instructi-

Breviar. Roman. supra.

ons; we finde he was Tutor, and instructor in such holy life, and conversation, in many places, and company; yet not near *Egipt*, or *Egiptians*.

He founded a monastery in the City of *Millane* in *Italy*, where he lived, and monastically lived till he was driven away by *Auxentius*, that Prince of the *Arrians*; *Mediolani sibi Monasterium statuit, ibi quoque Auxentius Author & Princeps Arrianorum gravissime eum infectatus est, multisque affectum injuriis de civitate pertur-bavit.* Thence he fled with some of his holy company, especially one very holy Priest, *comite quodam Presbytero magnarum virtutum viro*, to the Iland, then named *Gallinaria* in the Tuscan sea near *Italy*, where he lived with roots and herbs, *hic aliquandiu radicibus vixit herbarum.* After, hearing of S. *Hilaries* return into *France*, he followed him, and founded a monastery not farr from his see; and there continued in great, and miraculous sanctity; he was taken, and chosen thence to be Bishop of *Towers*; for accepting whereof he was hardly drawn out of his monastery. *Sub idem fere tempus ad Episcopatum Turonica Ecclesiæ petebatur, sed erui à monasterio suo facile non potest.* In which place very many were instituted in his Order and Disciplines, *Sanctissimi viri, instituti disciplinis.*

And

And because, as his own Disciples testifie of him, upon their certain knowledg, he lived when he was Bishop, monastically, both for habit, and other monasticall respects, as he did before when he was only a Priest, and Monk, and not Bishop. *Eadem in vestitu ejus vilitas erat, atque ita plenus authoritatis & gratiæ, implebat Episcopi dignitatem, ut non tamen propositum Monachi, virtutemque deseveret.* And because also such Rule, and order monasticall was ever most allowed, that had Episcopal warrant, and approbation; (It was decreed, and prohibited, by the great General Councell of *Chalcedon*, not long after; that no monastery should be, without allowance of the Bishop, *sine conscientia ipsius Civitatis Episcopi:*) to cite that Rule, and order monastical of S. *Martin*, which had most warrant, and Episcopal allowance; I will set down that which he both used, and approved, when he was Bishop. Thus his Disciple *Severus Sulpitius* relateth it.

Concil. Calcedon. Can. 4.

Jam vero sumpto Episcopatu. *Having taken Episcopal dignity upon him, it is not in my power to make relation how, and what an excellent man he became: for he most constantly persevered the same man he had been before. The same humility was in his heart, the same meanness in his apparel: and so full of authority, and grace, he per-*

Severus Sulpitius in vita S. Martini. c. 7.

The Rule of S. Martin, after he was Bishop, and how holy and learned it was.

formed the dignity of a Bishop, that yet he did not forsake the purpose and vertue of a monk. Therefore sometime he used a Cell joyning to his Church: after, when he could not endure the unquietness of resorters, he founded for himself a monastery, almost two miles out of the City, which place was so secret, and remote, that it wanted not the solitariness of a wilderness; for, on one side it was compassed with a high steep rock; the other plain, the river Liger with the bank brought a little about, did shut in; not to be gon unto, but by one narrow way. He had his Cell made of wood, and many of the brethren in the same manner; most of them had made themselves Receptacles, by cutting hollow the rock of the mountain over them: The number of his Disciples was four score, which were instituted, (instituebantur) according to the example of their blessed master: no man had any thing proper to himself, all things were in common. It was not lawfull to buy or sell any thing, as is the custom to most monks. There was no Art except writing, to which work the lesser age was deputed; the elder attended to prayer. they all received meat together, after the hour of fasting; none of them knew wine, (vinum nemo noverat,) except whom infirmity compelled. Most of them were clothed with bristles, or rough hair of Camels (plerique Camelorum setis vestiebantur;)

Softer

Softer habit was there acounted for sin; which must needs be the more marvelous, because many of them were noble men, who being brought up farr otherwise, had enforced themselves to that humility, and patience. Most of these afterwards we have seen Bishops: for what City, or Church was there, which coveted not to have Priests from S. Martins *monasterie? Truely before S.* Martin, *there were very few, yea almost none in these Regions,* (in illis Regionibus,) *which had received the name of Christ: who so prevailed by his vertue, and example; that now there is no place there, which is not repleniſhed with very many Churches, or monasteries;* qui non aut monasteriis frequentissimis aut Eccleſiis sit repletus: *For where he destroyed the* Pagan *Temples, there he presently builded either Churches, or monasteries. His lodging, or bed was upon the naked earth, covered only with one haircloath;* nuda humo, uno tantum cilicio superjecto cubare consueverat.

And that we may be sure S. *Martin* did not borrow his Rule, order, or sanctity and holy learning from Egipt, or any other Country, then as I have related; but rather that Egipt and other places borrowed from him, and that he was an Example and patterne to the whole Christian world then; as *Sulpitius Severus* had so proved before of all other holy and renowned places; So he proves

S Martins order not from Egypt, or inferior to any there, but preferred before them.

proves it in this very booke which others have otherwise cited before, (but not truly) to prove S. *Martins* deriving his Rule, and order from the Egiptians, and to inferiot him to them in that kind of glory. For When he and his Interlocutor dialogue-wise had related all the glories and glorious men of this holy kinde of life in Egipt, with their disciplines; they conclude, that S. *Martins* discipline (*Martini disciplina*) was most excellent in it selfe, and neither borrowed of the Egiptians, nor in any wise derived from them, or inferior to any Rule or order in those parts; or *Martin* inferior to their most holy and greatest Saints or any of them; but on the contrarie that S. *Martin* himselfe had that prime honor there; and those of his holy rule and order, were loved, and honored for being his disciples, and of his discipline. *Non potest mihi non fessa charus, maximè cum ex Martini sit disciplina*: I cannot but dearly honor him, being he is one of great saint *Martin*'s Institute: saith our Author: plainly distinguishing it from all Egyptian Disciplines and Orders.

Ego quoad vivam &c: *I, so long as I live* (saith one of the Dialogists in this place) *and understand, will commend the monks of* Egypt, *for ever will praise their Anachorites, and admire their Eremites; but always I will except S.* Martin: *I dare not com-*

pare

pare any of their Monks, any of their Bishops to him: This Egypt *doth confesse: this* Syria *confesseth: the* Æthiopian *proveth: this the* Indian *hath heard: the* Parthians *&* Persians *know: nor are the* Armenians *ignorant of it: Bosphorus separated knoweth it: and lastly, if any will travail to the* Fortunate Islands, *or the* frozen Ocean *he shall hear of it.* And for Egypt more in particular, yet joyning all Asia with it, in this comparison: *Cum vero ad Ægyptum usque perveneris, quanquam illa sanctorum numero & virtutibus sit superba, tamen non dedigneter audire, quia illi vel universa Asiæ in solo* Martino Europa *non cesserit:* 'When thou comest to Egypt, although it 'be proud for the number of the saints 'thereof; yet let it not disdain to hear, that 'Europe doth not give place unto it, or unto 'all *Asia* in one saint *Martin.*

And having related the vertues and miracles of the principal Monks of Egypt; and comparing or preferring saint *Martin* unto, and before them, in such memorable things, they make this inference or conclusion: *Ergo fateris necesse est, in* Martino *omnium illorum, quos enumerasti, fuisse virtutes: Martini autem in illis omnibus non fuisse. Therefore thou must of necessity confesse, that the vertues of all those thou hast reckoned, were in* S. Martin, *but the vertues of saint* Martin *were not in all them.* Then they

give

give this reason of the excellency of S. *Martins* order, and manner of life; especially when he was Bishop; living then, as he had before, for monastical conversation; as it is said of him already, and also of our Apostolick Bishops of great *Britain*: *Sed sicut nullius unquam cum illius viri meritis profiteor conferendam esse virtutem.* *But as I professe, that never any mans vertue, was to be compared to the merits of that man (S.* Martin*) so that also must be considered, that he is with unjust condition compared with Eremites, or with Anachorites; for they being free from all impediments, only heaven and Angels being witnesses, are taught admirable things. This man,* (S. Martin) *in the midst of company, and conversation of the people; between Clerks, at debate; among Bishops, being cruel; when he was pressed with daily scandals; yet he stood grounded with unexplicable vertue against all things: : and wrought so great things; that they, who are related to have lived, did not the like: but if they had done the like, what Judge would be so unjust, that he would not judge worthily, this man to have done better? for this was a souldier, that fought in a place of disadvantage, and yet was conqueror: whereas they fought in an equall place, or rather with advantage:* And yet proveth the vertues, and miracles of S. *Martin* to have been greater, then any Monks,

Monks, or Eremits in *Egipt*.

The publishers also of S. *Sulpitius* thus gloss him here: *Omnia singulorum Monachorum insignia in uno sunt beato* Martino; all the eminencies of other Monks are found *in one blessed* Martin. Again, S. *Sulpitius*, after recitall of all the miracles and piety of the Monks and Eremites of Egipt, confesseth that S. *Martin* was not inferiour in any thing related. *Nihil a te penitus audivi, in quo* Martinus *esset inferior*: but more worthy of honor and imitation: And the Church of Christ her self, in the publique Office of S *Martin*, is best witness that saint *Martin* being Bishop, lived most holy with 80. Monks, not giving place before him to any, *Factus Episcopus* Turonensis *monasterium edificavit, ubi cum octoginta monachis sanctissime aliquandiu vixit.* So we must needs conclude, that saint *Martins* rule and order came not from Egipt, nor any extern Nation, and yet was thus holy and perfect, as is remembred: And so many Monasteries of that his Rule in his own life time, and by himself founded in *France*, as these Authors, then living, have proved unto us.

Breviarium Romanum in S. Martino.

The

The Twelfth Chapter.

How saint Patrick *did institute and settle his holy Order, in, and for many other Nations besides* Britain *and* Ireland; *and this Order remained here after saint* Augustines *coming.*

HAving now made it manifest that saint *Martins* order was no Egyptian nor extern rule; but most holy and learned, and withall peculiar unto himself and his worthy Disciples. Let us return to his most holy and learned Apostolick nephew S. *Patrick*, who by al confessons brought and setled this renowned order in these parts, principally in *Ireland*, whose Apostle chiefly he was; and in *Britain* also, even by the greatest contenders for Egyptian & Benedictine Monks, who freely acknowledg from Authority, that the Monks of Britain joyned with saint *Patrick* in that habit he received from saint *Martin*; and that saint *Patrick* was both a Britain by Nation, and a master or Tutor to the British Monks in monasticall life and order. *Nec dubium est, quin idem fuerit Britannicorum*

vicarius in habitu celer, tum quia S. Patricius Britannus ipse fuerat, tum quia a Britannis monachis, etiam Praeceptor a loco cultus, ut ex vita S. Winwaloci apud Surium patet.

Apostolat. Benedictino in Anglia Tract. 1. sect. p. 118.

And it is proved there from Antiquityes, that this holy, and renowned Monk, and afterwards Abbot, R. *Winwallœus*, sonne of the noble *Francanus*, *Consobrinus*, cosen germane, sisters son to *Caronius*, a British King, or great Prince, (*vir illustris*, *Francanus nomine*, *Consobrinus Catonii Regis Britannici*;) hearing the greate fame and renown of *S. Patrick*; much desired, being before a Monk, to be of S. *Patrick's* Rule and Institution; *modis omnibus ad eum proficisci peroptaret, ut vivendi normam ex ejus sanctissima institutione capesceret*; and so he did with divers other monks. S. *Patrick* also founded the Monastery of *Menevia*, (so beloved of *S. David* for that cause *pre cæteris sua Diœcesis monasteriis dilexerat, quia Beatus Patritius, qui nativitatem ejus prophetaverat, ipsum fundavit*;) and many others in sundry places, by the testimony of divers historians. And the publick Church service, which *S. Germane*, *S. Lupus*, and *Severus* had used, and setled here before, when they were Apostles in this Nation, being the same, S. *Martin*, and S. *Patrick* used, and practised in their monasteries; was no little help, and entrance unto

Monasteri antiq. Surius, & Harœus in vita S. Winwaloci.

Galfrid. monum. Hist. Brit. l. 11. c. 3.

unto that joyning of the *Britaines* with S. *Patrick*, both before S. *Patrick* going hence into *Ireland*, after he was designed Apoſtle for that Countrey, and after his return hither again.

The great union alſo of the Countries, *Britain*, and *Ireland*, both in this glorious Apoſtle, and in monaſtical life, and converſation, they being teſtified by Hiſtorians to have had, after this time of *Irelands* converſion, very great concordance, agreement, and unity therein, will witneſs and warrant the ſame unto us.

But to bring *S. Patrick* into *Ireland*, with S. *Martins* holy order, and ſettling it there by the teſtimony, and witneſs of the *Iriſh* writers, *Joceline*, and others. Thus briefly they relate it unto us. *Saint* Patricks *earneſt deſire of attaining to greater grace of divine knowledg, made him repair to his uncle* S. Martin *Archbiſhop of* Towers. *This holy Biſhop, being a monk himſelf, cloathed his nephew* Patrick *with a monks weeds, and inſtructed him in regular diſcipline, and monaſtical obſervances, which the Saint embraced very willingly, and according to the tenor of them, directed his life alwayes after. So taking their leaves each of other,* S. Patrick *returned to his old maſter* S. German *again.* And relating how he was conſecrated Prieſt by S. *German*, and after ſent Apoſtle into *Ireland*, and converted that Nation,

Jocelin in vita S. Patricii & alii.

Nation, founding many Churches, and monasteries, and consecrating Bishops, and Priests, 365 Bishops, and 3000 Priests, as our *British* old *Mennin* recounteth; *ordinavit Episcopos trecentos sexaginta quinque aut amplius; in quibus Spiritus Domini erat; Presbyteros autem usque ad tria millia*, and founded 365 Churches, and monasteries: *Ecclesias quoque eodem numero fundavit trecentas sexaginta quinq;*. Mennicus Histor. Brit.

Then recounting particularly diverse of these his founded monasteries (their number being excessive) thus they abbridg his proceeding in such things. *The Saint*, (S. Patrick) *seeing what disposition our Lords field was in, to yeild not only the 30 or 60, but even the hundred fold fruit, caused all the Land to be divided, and equally distributed, and being divided, to be tithed with all the inhabitants of both Sexes; and every tenth head, as in men, women, and cattle, so in moveables, did he separate for our Lords part; all the men, he made monks, and all the women he consecrated nunns; building innumerable monasteries for them; and assigning them the fifths of Lands, Cattle, and other moveable goods, for their sustentation: within a short space, there was not a wildernesse, no nor scarce any corner, or place in all the Island, but was replenished with perfect monks, or holy nuns; so that* Ireland *by a particular name, was justly called*

all

all the world over, the Iſland of Saints: They lived according to the precept, and tenor of life, which S. Patrick ſet them down. For contempt of the world, deſire of heavenly things, mortification of the fleſh, abdication of ſelf-will, they matched the monks of Egipt, *both in merit, and number: many foraign Regions were by them illuſtrated with doctrine and Religion.*

Here we ſee it moſt plainly juſtified, by the beſt witneſſes in this matter, that the monaſtical rule, and order, S. *Patrick* profeſſed all his life, was the ſame he learned and received from S. *Martin*, and did binde himſelf to profeſs, and follow it; and being inſtituted by S. *Martin*: neither he, nor S. *Patrick*, ever coming near unto *Egipt*, nor Schollar to any *Egiptian*; nor profeſſing any monaſtical *Egiptian* rule. This Rule, S. *Patrick* ſetled in *Ireland*; and the *Iriſh* monks lived according to the Preſcript, and tenor of life thus ſet down unto them; And though *Ireland*, for circuit, and greatneſs, is not to be compared unto *Egipt*; yet by this happie means, and monaſtical Inſtitution of S. *Martin*, ſet down by S. *Patrick*; the monks there, for contempt of the world, deſire of heavenly things, mortification of the fleſh, abdication of ſelf-will, did match the monks of *Egipt* both in merit, and number. Things different and thus compared, muſt needs be

diſtinct

distinct, and not the same. Here we see the rule, and monastical order was but one; the rules of *Egipt* so many and different; that *Joannis Cassianus* in some places there, recounteth almost as many, as Cells. *Propter Typos, quos Cellas vidimus.* If ever any *Egiptian* monks came into this west part of the world, where S. *Martin*, and S. *Patrick* lived, they were lay, and unlearned men, as the chiefest cited contender for them hath proved. S. *Martins* monks were so famous for learning: that most, or many of them were Bishops after: and all Cities and Churches desired to have Priests or Bishops from his monastery, yea in *Ireland* almost all the Prelates and Bishops, were chosen out of Monasteries which S. *Patrick* had founded there: *ferè omnes Hiberniæ Prelati de monasteriis in Clerum electi sunt.* And the Chiefest of the named contenders for *Egiptian* monks, here or in the west, making them to consist only of lay men; doth, both by place, persons, and profession, distinguish them from S. *Martins*, S. *Augustines* and S. *Congellus* his monks. And excluding those *Egiptian* monks in these relations, speaketh thus of S. *Martins*, S. *Augustins*, & S. *Congellus* his monks, whom he cals *the function of regular Clergie. It is incredible how far and wide they spred: how many and great Abbies were built for them, so called, of their communion of life: as also Monasteries, for that*

Joannes Cassianus. Silvest. Girald. typograph. Hibern. c. 24. Cambden. Britan. Cornubia Cheshire.

they kept still a certain show of solitarie living: and in those dayes none were more sacred, and holy then they, and accordingly they were reputed: considering how by their Prayers to God, by their example, doctrin, labour, and industry, they did exceeding much good, not only to themselves, but also to all mankinde.

These men of the regular Clergie, so learned, preaching to others, converting *Ireland*, and other nations, neither were nor could be monks, lay men of *Egipt*, or any other Nation. And though the glory of *Ireland* was so great and general; now by S. *Martins* monks, that the tenth part of most things were numbred unto them; and the fifth part of lands there, assigned unto them for their sustentation: yet *England*, whose farr more then third part, in the time of King *William* the first, firnamed the Conquetor, by exact and general survey, was proved, and found to belong to the Church, and Eccleſiastical persons; was not inferior to *Ireland* in this kinde of glory. And yet less then the third, fifth, tenth, twentieth, or a great part of *England*, or *Ireland*, would have sufficed, for the maintenance of a great many Egiptian, or Benedictine monks; such as S. *Benedict* instituted, and his monks were, at the time of his rule approved by S. *Gregory* Pope, and coming of S. *Augustine*, and his asso-

his Doomesday Book.

ciates

tiates hither; living by their labours, Arts, and handy-works; as appeareth in many Chapters of his rule, and this S. *Benedicts* sentence of his monks: *Quia tunc verè monachi sunt, si de labore manuum suarum vivunt: for then they are truely monks, if they live by the labour of their hands.* Regula S. Benedicti cap. 48.

The monks of S. *Benedicts* rule; by it, not given to studies and learning; might, and did live thus, as many monks of *Egipt*, (out of whose rule, written by S. *Pachomius*, and two others; S. *Benedict* gathered, and took his rule;) did, and might live thus: But the learned monks of S. *Martins*, and such learned orders, given and disposed wholly, or principally to studies, preaching, prayer, and such learned Apostolick exercises, and professions; could not possibly be continued, and maintained by corporal arts, and labours. And S. *Patrick* sent, of these monks into many remote places, and Nations, where was no living for them, unknown, by such trades, and practises. We finde in the old written life of S. *Brendan*, that many of them were sent unto, and lived in the Isles of *America*, and had been there, some 20 years, some 30, brought up by S. *Patrick*, in his monasteries in these parts before. *Mennius* protests that S. *Patrick* preached forty years, to diverse extern Nations. S. *Patricius Evangelium Christi externis adhuc ibi populis quadraginta* Manuscrip Antiq. Capgrave in S. Brend. Mennius Histor. supra Matth. West. anno 491.

quadraginta prædicavit; which could not be only to the *Iriſh* in *Ireland*, who were but one extern Nation to *Britain*. Old *Probus* in S. *Patricks* life, exemplifieth his, and his Diſciples preaching to diverſe particular peoples.

Antiquit. Glaſtonien. Capgrav. in S. Piran.

And the 365 Biſhops (whom by *Mennius*, and *Matthew* of *Weſtminſters* teſtimonie he conſecrated) could not be diſpoſed of in *Ireland* only; nor in all theſe weſtern Nations, where, by any Antiquity he placed Biſhops, in Cathedral Sees, to live as Biſhops did, that had not Cathedral monaſteries, or lived not monaſtically in any of thoſe monaſteries, he founded, as S. *Patrick* himſelf did; S. *Benignus* his Diſciple, and ſucceſſor did, S. *Bernardus* did; but to omit others I name only *Piranus*, or *Keramus*, one of the firſt 12 Biſhops, S. *Patrick* conſtituted to preach the Goſpel in *Ireland*. *Ipſe erat unus ex duodecim primis Epiſcopis, quos ille S. Magnus Patricius ad prædicandum Evangelium in Hibernia conſtituit.* And him I name becauſe (as our Hiſtorians witneſs) he lived above 200 years, and lived ſo both in *Ireland*, and *Britain* in *Cornwall*, with many monks; and Regular Clergie. He in all this his long life, was never cloathed with wool of ſheep, but wolves skins, and wilde beaſts. He did never eat fleſh, or drink wine, or drink, that could breed drunkenneſs; and ordained innumerable Prieſts,

Prieſts, Biſhops, and Clerks, living, (as we muſt moſt probably ſuppoſe) as their Conſecrator did. *Sanctus autem Pyranus in tota vita ſua nunquam lanis ovium, ſed pellibus Luporum, ferarumque indutus eſt, à carnibus & carnalibus deſideriis viriliter ſe abſtinuit, & potum inebriantem non bibit. Innumerabiles Preſbyteros, Epiſcopos, & Clericos ordinavit. Pluſquam enim ducentis annis in corpore ſine doloribus, qui ſenes naturaliter infeſtare ſolent, & ſine diminutione tam dentium, quam Lucis oculorum vixit.* He was a moſt holy and miraculous man, often viſited by holy Angels; *illum Angeli crebris viſitationibus frequentabant.* And living with his holy brethren in ſuch holy rule and order ſo long; his life muſt needs extend to S. *Auguſtins* coming hither; and his Prieſts. Biſhops, and Clergie, long after. Whence we may ſafely number him, and them among monaſtical men here, neither Benedictines, nor Egiptians. The monaſtery of *Glaſtenbury* alſo, and others ſo lived then according to S. *Patricks* inſtitution; he himſelf living long at *Glaſtenbury*, as Abbot and Inſtitutor, to thoſe moſt holy monks; as he himſelf, with all the Antiquaries, and Antiquities of *Glaſtenbury*, and others do prove. So did S. *Benignus* his Diſciple: ſo did S. *Bernard* a Biſhop; and *Mannus* a Biſhop after S. *Auguſtines* coming, and S. *Paulinus*, one of his miſſion from *S. Gregories* monaſterie.

S. Patric. in Epiſtol. Guliel. Malmeſ. l. de Antiquit. Cœnobii Glaſtonien. Antiquitat. Glaſton. tabulis fixis. Capgrav. in S. Joſep. & S. Patricio & alii.

The Thirteenth Chapter.

The renowned, Apoſtolick, learned Order of S. Auguſtine, *the holy learned Doctor, famous here in* Britain, *in many renowned Monaſteries in theſe times.*

AND yet I do not affirm, that S. *Patrick* did not ſettle any monaſtical men here, or in *Ireland*, but of *S. Martins* Rule, and Order: for though being of that Order himſelf, and moſt probably, diverſe of his Diſciples, and aſſociates in his holy Apoſtolick labours; his love muſt needs be greateſt, where he had made his choice and reſolution, and by ſuch Coadjutors had readier means to ſettle that Order, then any other. Yet he, ſo holy a monaſtical man, could not be an hindrance, but a furtherance to amplifie, and dilate, any other known, and approved order; eſpecially if it were Apoſtolick, and tending to converſion, and ſaving ſouls, which was the principal object of his deſires, and endeavours: and ſo we muſt needs conſent, that he much furthered the *Lyrinian* order; planted here by S. *Germanus*, and *Lupus*, who

S. Auguſtines Apoſtolick order, now brought into theſe parts by S. Patrick and others.

who had lived formerly in that rule, and long time were maſters, and Tutors to S. *Patrick*:

Jo Peccham Archep. Cantuarien can de religioſis. Gulie. Lyndwood lib. 3. Veremund. & Hect. Boeth. Scot hiſtor. lib. 6.

Next unto which, we are aſſured by good antiquities, and witneſſes of old Annales of *Ireland*, *Matthew Paris*, and others, that he ſetled the holy Apoſtolick order of *Canon Regulars*; which both publick Canons, and private writers aſcribe to the glorious Doctor of Chriſts Church S. *Auguſtine* Biſhop of *Hippo*, then lately inſtituted by him; and beginning to be of great note in *Ireland*, at that famous place there, named S. *Patricks Purgatory*; ſetling them with their Prior (yet under the command, and direction of the Biſhop) at the door of the entrance into it, to direct and inſtruct all that brought the licence of the Biſhop in writing to enter into it. *Tradunt veteres hiſtoriæ Hibernenſes quod S. Patricius canonicos Regulares loco illo introduxit; & Priori, Eccleſiæ clavem cuſtodiendam commiſit, ſtatuens ut quicunque Purgatorium ingredi voluerit, ab Epiſcopo loci licentiam habeat, & cum literis Epiſcopi, accedat ad Priorem, & ab eo inſtructus, Purgatorium intret.*

Hiſtor. veteres hibern Matth. Paris Hiſtor. Anglican in Rege. Stephano.

We finde, that the moſt renowned Apoſtolick man S. *Cungarus*, deſcended of the Imperial race of *Conſtantinople*, ſoon after the inſtitution of this order by S. *Auguſtin*,

Manuſcrip Antiq.

Capgrav. in S. Cungaro.

in this age came hither into *Britain*, for the love of heaven; and preached according to the Apoſtles tradition, in all places he came to. *Doctrina ſua fluenta ſeminabat per Patriam; & quocunque ibat, non ceſſabat prædicare verbum Dei ſecundum traditionem Apoſtolorum.* And among his other holy works here, he founded diverſe monaſteries of his holy learned Order: One he founded in *Somerſetſhire*, at a place bearing his name, *Cungreſbury*, placing there 12 Canons Regular. *Conſtituit in eodem Oratorio ſuo duodecim Canonicos, qui regulariter viverent.* He founded another of the ſame rule, and order in *Glamorganſhire* in *Wales*, and ruled them both with the allowance of S. *Dubritius*, then Archbiſhop, and the Popes Legat here. *Conſtruxit in eodem loco Oratorium in honorem ſanctæ & individuæ Trinitatis; in quo, ſicut & apud Cungreſburiam, conſtituit duodecim Canonicos, qui regulariter viventes, Deo ſervirent. Ipſe autem tanquam ſolicitus, & Pater ſanctiſſimus, utriuſque monaſterii curam gerebat.*

Theſe monaſteries he ruled in this monaſtical order long time, untill, having made a vow to go on Pilgrimage to *Hieruſalem*, and *Rome*; and having licence of our Archbiſhop S. *Dubritius*, to commit the government of them to others, and conſent of the monaſteries themſelves; (*accepta*

tâ licentiâ & Benedictione Dubritii Landavensi Episcopi, simulque Monasteriorum, quibus Pater praerat) he delivered his charge to others, and performed his vow. And these his monasteries of S. *Augustines* order, even that among the *Saxons*, when they were Pagans, continued in great honour, even under the Regiment of the *English* Kings; and so remained in the time of King *Edgar*, when there had been almost a general desolation of monastical life in this Kingdome of *England*. And diverse English Kings were great Benefactors to this holy monasteries Among the rest King *Inas*, gave all the Territories thereabout unto it. *Ina Rex Anglorum largissimus, largitus est venerabili Cungaro, totum territorium libere circa Cungreshuriam situm.* It was a most holy, and miraculous place; and the Regular Canons there, most holy men, as their Institution was; to live regularly, and to serve God most diligently in their Church. *Qui regulariter viverent, & in eodem Templo Deo officiosissimè deservirent.*

Giraldus Cambrensis, with others, proveth, that in antient times, *antiquis temporibus*, there were at *Caerlegion* three Churches, one dedicated to the Metropolitan of *Cambria*; another to S. *Julius* our martyr, with Nuns; *Virgineo Deo dicata Regularium choro venustata*; and a third founded

Girald. Cam. Itinerar. Cam. lib. 1. cap. 5.

founded to S. *Aaron*, his fellow martyr; ennobled with a renowned order of Canons; *Altera Beati* Aaron *socii ejusdem nomine fundata, & Canonicorum ordine præclaro nobilitata.* Where it is evident these Canons were Canons Regular; and their order was a renowned order; which the same Author before calleth, Order of Canons, commending it in this time above all others: *Prædictus Ordo Canonicus, plus aliis mediocritate contentus, atque modestia; & in mundo positus, mundi pro posse contagia vitans*: And saith plainly, that in his time, the Canons discipline instituted by S. *Augustine*, was the most excellent among all orders here. *Quæ aliis hodie cunctis præeminet Ordinibus, ab* Augustino *instituta, canonica servatur Disciplina.*

I have remembred before from our *Scottish* writers, that this learned and holy order of S. *Augustine*, was very antiently setled in *Scotland.* And at S. *Andrews* there, in the foundation of K. *Hiergustus*, was the first, that joyned with the Monks of S *Regulus* of *Achaia*, and our old *Culdeys* in monastical life and order: And we must needs say, that there was a great Concordance, and connexion between the Monks of *Achaia*, our holy *Culdeys*, and S. *Augustines* Canon Regulars, or Priests and Clergie Regular; living in Monasticall order; or, that this Church, and Monastery, which King

Hiergustus

Hierguſtus founded, was from the beginning founded for S. *Auguſtines* Canons, or Prieſts regular: for it was by our Authours teſtimony founded, (and that ſumptuouſly) by him, for ſuch Prieſts regular.

Hierguſtus regium palatiũ amplis ſtructuris, (ut ea patiebatur ætas) ornatum, Divi Andreæ; Regulo, ac ſacerdotibus, ibidem, deinceps Optimo Maximo, Deo, famulaturis, libere erogavit, and he adorned that Church, with moſt ample gifts, with boles, cups, chalices, baſens, lavatories of ſilver and gold; and other precious furniture, provided for the uſe of holy things; for the Prieſts, there conſtituted perpetually to execute divine offices. Sacerdotibus ad divina perpetuò exequenda ibidem conſtitutis. There were in that Monaſtery, even from the firſt beginning of it; firſt Prieſts, commonly named worſhipers of God, Dei Cultores; then men of S. Auguſtines *inſtitution, commonly called* Canon-regulars; *and between them both, renowned men for learning, vertue, and true Piety; whoſe greateſt care was, Religiouſly to execute their ſacred Offices, and things belonging to the Worſhip of God and his Inſtitution: And when they are at leiſure from ſerving God, diligently to apply their ſtudies. So that in reſpect of Learning, you may name it a renowned generall ſtudy of all Diſcipline: If you conſider the worſhip of God, either day or night, you will affirm nothing*

Veremund. & Hect. Boeth. Scot. hiſt. l. 6.

nothing elſe, but that they all did wonderfully (almoſt with a certain Divine conſent) give themſelves to perform to God Almighty, the Offices of devout Piety.

And to teſtifie the worthineſs and excellency of this holy Order of S. *Auguſtine*, how much, and how farr it was honoured and dilated both in Britaine, and many Nations, *brevi*, in a ſhort time, ſoon after the inſtitution of it; Thus they write of this holy learned Doctor, and this his Order: *Aurelius Auguſtinus Ambroſii fide & Baptiſmate filius, &c. S. Aurelius* "*Auguſtine*, ſon of S. *Ambroſe* in Faith and "Baptiſm, inſtituted an Order of Prieſts; "thoſe men whom commonly we call "Canon-Regulars, profeſſing it, being in "ſhort time a renowned Family, enjoyed "many renowned Monaſteries, which men "call Abbies, throughout the world (*per "Orbem*) magnificently founded, and en-"dowed by the help of Kings and Princes. "Out of this Family, beſides almoſt innume-"rable men, renowned for ſanctity, and "illuſtrious for Learning; there have pro-"ceeded thirty Popes of *Rome*, more then "out of any other Order; *Triginta quot ex nulla alia Romani proceſſere Pontifices: Idem dogma*, the ſame Order or Rule, the "Eremites, *ab eremo*, named from the "Wilderneſs, doe follow; being ſince cal-"led thence by S. *Auguſtine* into Cities, yet keeping

Veremund. & Hect. Boeth. Scotor. Hiſt. l. 7. fo. 119.

" keeping the name Eremites; whence they " were a Family or Order, among the Or- " ders of Christian piety, scarce inferior to " any for famousnes and number of holy " learned men. It is wonderful how they " have encreased, by testimony of approved " authors, though often afflicted with inju- " rie by Pagans, that they have at this time " in *Europe* 2300 Monasteries; *Trecenta* " *supra duo millia Cœnobia*: besides those " that be in *Africk* where this Institution " took beginning; and in that *Æthiopia* " which is beyond *Egipt*, it is evident, there " be very many. And so many men entred " into that Order, *Initiatorum vero tot*, that " the certain number cannot be known. And " yet S. *Augustine* is not more for his reli- " gious Orders and Institutes, then for his " great learning in almost all Disciplines, in " which even from his childhood he was " instructed, accounted the Eagle of Classi- " cal Doctors, *Doctorum classicorum, Aquila* " *est habitus.*

Therefore if the glorie, and honour of S. *Augustine*, and his holy orders were so great and so general, his monasteries so soon, innumerable, with innumerable renowned, holy and learned Saints thereof; so honored in *Rome*, the head and mother of Religion, that she hath had more Popes of that, then of any order; we should do great injury to this most learned doctor of Christs Church,

and

and to his moſt holy learned Orders, and alſo to this our moſt holy and learned kingdom of Great Britain; to expell them thence and yet to fetch Eremites hither out of Egypt; whereas it is evident his holy orders were ſo generally ſpread over the world and extended farr beyond Egipt. Two thouſand and three hundred Monaſteryes of this glorious Order, will hardly be found in Europe, if Britain be taken from it, to ſupply a great number of them; being ſo ample of it ſelf, and ſo anciently, and generally known to have bin renowned for ſuch Apoſtolick men, and manner of life as S. *Auguſtine* who ſo inſtituted his Rule, that he lived, with his Diſciples, the Servants of God, according to the manner, and rule inſtituted by the Apoſtles; ſo famous and antient in *Britain*, as I have declared. *Monaſterium intra Eccleſiam inſtituit, & cum Dei ſervis vivere capit ſecundum modum, & Regulam, ſub Sanctis Apoſtolis conſtitutam*; As his learned diſciple, with others witneſſeth; and the Church thus warranteth unto us of him: *Familiam inſtituit Religioſorum, quibuſcum vitæ communi, eodemque cultui intens, eos ad Apoſtolicæ vitæ doctrinæque diſciplinam diligentiſſimè erudiebat.* He inſtituted a family of Religious men; which whom uſing common food, and the ſame worke, he did moſt diligently inſtruct them to the diſcipline of the Apoſtles life and learning.

Poſſidius in vita S. Auguſtini.

Breviar. Rom. in S. Aug. die 28. Auguſt.

And

And to joyn our Protestant best antiquaries, with our old Catholick witnesses, and Historians in this testimony of S. *Augustines* Canon-regulars, or Priests regulars to have been setled, and received here in this time. The best learned of them before hath acknowledged, that both *Britain*, and *Ireland* had very many, and great monasteries of the *function of regular Clergie*, such as S. *Augustin* instituted in *Africk*; and that they were *very holy, and learned men, which did much good to all mankinde*: So the chiefest of them that have been objected to the contrary. Yea they reach even to the time of our *Saxons* converted, and say plainly, with Catholick writers; that the monks of S. *Augustin*, the Doctors holy and learned order, were seated and setled here with our Bishops in their Cathedral Churches, and Sees, in many, and diverse places; and do expressly name the Episcopal See of *Rochester*; saying, *black Canons Augustines* were setled there in the time of King *Ethelbert* in the year 604: when they must needs be placed there by S. *Augustine*, sent hither by S. *Gregory*. And with many Catholick writers, the old Benedictine monks of *Ramsay*, *Surius*, *Harœus*, and others teach, that S. *Birinus*, Apostle of the west Saxons, with the consent of the king there, and S. *Oswald* king of *Northumberland*, placed his Episcopal See, at the City of *Dorchester*,

Cambden sup. Cornavii Cheshire.

Guliel. Rams. Benedict. Monach. in vita S. Birini Surius Lippol. & Harœus in eodem. The protestant Theater of great Britain West Saxon kings in King. Protest. Catal. Relig. Houses in Oxfordshire.

ſter, near *Oxford*, and that there *anno* 635. he ſetled *black Canon Auguſtines*.

Moreover if we ſhould aſſent unto theſe men in granting the monks of *Congellus* order, or inſtitution here; to have been ſuch regular Clergie, as S. *Auguſtines* in *Africk* was; they have already confeſſed there were many ſuch great *Canobyes*, or monaſteries here in Britain; and that his monaſterie was the head of monaſteries, and had brought forth many thouſands of monks: *Hunc locum primorum extitiſſe monachorum Caput, & multa generaſſe monachorum millia*; and again that he had many learned Diſciples, of whom S. *Columbanus*, and S. *Brendan* being two, they filled *France*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, with monaſteries of monks; which muſt needs be by theſe men of this their own order. *Hujus diſcipuli fuêre plures, quorum Columbanus, Galliam, Germaniam, & Italiam; Brendanus vero Hiberniam & Scotiam Monachorum habitaculis implevit*: and they cite S. *Bernard* to joyn with them in this aſſertion, ſaying they were *Apoſtolici Ordinis*, of the Apoſtolick order, as S. *Auguſtines* Canon Regulars were.

Jo. Baleus lib. de Script. cent. 1. in Congello.
Idem apud Benedict. in Apoſtolat. tract. 1. ſect. p. 201.
Manuſcript. Antiqu. Capgrav. in S. Thatheo.

We finde alſo in the old written life of *Thatheus*, ſon of king *Thathalius* in *Ireland*, that he proving a very holy and learned monaſtical man there of thoſe Canon regulars, came hither into *Britain*, with diverſe diſciples

ſciples of his order; and that by the donation of a Prince or King here, called *Crudocus*, he founded a Church here in honour of the bleſſed Trinity; and by allowance of the Biſhop of *Landaffe*, placed there in his monaſterie, *in ſuo monaſterio*, twelve Canons, monaſtically to ſerve God: *Collato ſibi à Rege agro, Eccleſiam in S. Trinitatis honorem conſtruxit: & conſilio Landavenſis Epiſcopi duodecim Canonicos ibidem Deo ſervientes inſtituit.* The Antiquitie maketh this Church S. *Thathews* monaſterie, wherein he lived regularly with them, ſo that it is evident there were many places, and monaſteries here in *Britain*, both in the time of the *Britains*, at the beginning of the *Engliſh* and after, placed and ſetled both by the *Iriſh*, and others, and that by the greateſt power and authority Epiſcopal, or Archiepiſcopal, *Britain* then had; when yet we finde neither *Egiptians* nor *Benedictines* to be here.

The Fourteenth Chapter.

The Orders, Monaſteries, and Religious Schools, of diverſe other moſt learned, and religious Abbots, Paſtors, and Prelates in Britain *in theſe dayes.*

WE had here in *Britain* in this time many holy and learned Apoſtolick Monaſtical men, great Doctors, and Maſters unto many Prieſts, Clergie men, and others not entred yet into Eccleſiaſtical Orders; living in ſchools, or monaſteries, monaſtically with their Diſciples; very many of theſe (if not all) joyning in monaſtical profeſſion, and inſtitution with their renowned Maſters, Teachers, and Abbots. Among whom we may truely recount S. *Dubritius*, ſtiled in our Hiſtories in this reſpect (before he was choſen, and conſecrated Archbiſhop by S. *Germanus*, and S. *Lupus*, the Popes Legates here) *Beatus* Dubritius *Summus Doctor*. S. *Dubritius* the greateſt Doctor, or Teacher; S. *Iltutus* Schollar to S. *German*, (and afterwards S. *Dubritius* alſo,) ſtiled Abbot, and Biſhop; and *Guildas*, ſurnamed

Antiquitate Eccleſiæ Landavens.

med the wise, a most holy and learned Abbot with others.

To begin with S. *Dubritius*, thus our old *British* antiquities with others testifie of him in this respect; "the fame of him, and "of his knowledge of both the Laws, new "and old; grew throughout all Britain: "so that out of all parts of Britain schollars "came unto him, and not only unlearned, "but also wise men and Doctors: (Doctors) "flocked unto him for cause of studie; chief-"ly S. *Helianus*, *Sampson* his disciple, *Ube-*"*linus*, *Merchiguinus*, *Elgnoredus*, *Gunvi-*"*nus*, *Longual*, *Anbodu*, *Longur*, *Arguistib*, "*Junabin*, *Conbram*, *Gorvam*, *Guornabiro*, "*Jovan*, *Elheharn*, *Judnon*, *Curdocui*, *Ai-*"*dan*, *Einvarch*; and with these he re-"tained a thousand Priests or Clerks (*mille* "*Clericos*) seaven years continually at *Hen.*"*Han*, on the river bank of *Wy*, in studie of "learning, of divine and humane wisdom; "giving to them example in himself, of reli-"gious life, and perfect charity, *exem-*"*plum eis præbus in semetipso religiosæ vi-*"*tæ, & charitatis perfectæ.* And by ano-"ther space in his own Countrey *Miserb-*"*dil*, chusing a place convenient in the cor-"ner of that Island, for wood and fish; he "continued, with an innumerable company "of Disciples, *cum suis innumerabilibus di-*"*scipulis*, ruling his School; calling the "place in the Brittish tongue Mochlas, that

The holy learned order, School, Colledg, and monasterie of S. Dubritius. Antiquit Landavensin S. Dubritio. Capgrave in eodem Gal. frid. Cambren. Histor. Britan. in vit. SS. Walliæ Cambren. L. 1. de Antiquitate Cantab.

" is, the place of a hog; becauſe he was " admoniſhed, that there he ſhould found " an Habitacle, and Oratory, where he " ſhould finde a white ſow, having pigs lying with her. *Ubi ſtropham albam cum porcis cubantem reperiret.* Thus far the old book.

Many of his diſciples, as the old Antiquities of *Landaffe*, and others witnes; were after holy and learned Biſhops, and Abbots, governing Monaſteries conſecrated and conſtituted ſo by him, (after he was Archbiſhop) having bin inſtructed by him before both in holy learning, religious life, and perfection. *& plures alios Abbates*, many Abbots of his diſciples, ſay the old Annals of Landaffe, (where he moſt kept his Archiepiſcopall ſee.) And he alwayes was ſo great a father, and Propagator of monaſticall life and order; that, when he was old, he reſigned his Archiepiſcopall Power to S. *David*; and taking many of his Diſciples, which had lived monaſtically with him, in his Archiepiſcopall ſee; they betooke themſelves to live as Eremites, in the holy Iſland of *Enly*; where by our old Brittiſh hiſtorians, many thouſands of holy martyrs and Confeſſors are buryed. *Dubritius tandem infirmitatibus, & Senio gravatus, laborioſum opus Epiſcopi dereliquit, & Eremiticam vitam cum pluribus diſcipulis, labore manuum ſuarum viventibus, in quadam Maris*

Perhaps it ſhould be *Enlly*.

Maris Inſula ſolitariè vixit, & in eadem Inſula ut vivens juſſerat, ſepeliri meruit. Aſſerunt enim antiquæ Britonum Hiſtoriæ, multa Sanctorum martyrum, & Confeſſorum millia in illa Inſula Euly *ſepulturam habuiſſe.*

Perhaps it ſhould be *Enly.*

And though thus ever, even unto his death, being addicted to monaſticall life; yet he was of ſo great learning; as I have related, and of higheſt Authoritie when he was Archbiſhop, and the Popes Legate here, perfecting Eccleſiaſticall buſines under his charge, and by the help and donation of Princes, founded many Pariſh Churches, then wanting Prieſts, to diſcharge Paſtorall duty: And as S. *Gregory* did after direct, and decree, that in ſuch want of Pariſh Preiſts, monks, that were worthy, might be taken out of their Monaſteries, and conſecrated Preiſts, to execute prieſtly Offices, and dutyes in ſuch Pariſhes: ſo S. *Dubritius* did the like by his learned monaſticall Diſciples, aſſigning them to govern ſuch Pariſh Churches here. *Erga ſibi commiſſam Eccleſiam partitus eſt diſcipulos, mittens quoſdam Diſcipulorum ſuorum per eccleſias ſibi datas, & quaſdam fundavit Eccleſias:* ſo theſe Antiquities.

S. Gregorius.

Antiquit Eccl. Landaven in S. Dubritio.

S. *Iltutus* alſo Scholler to *S. Germane*, and afterwards (as is ſaid already) to S. *Dubritius*; and by him conſtituted Abbot at *Lanultute*: (taking the name from him in the Britiſh language,) was ruler, and governour of

The religious learned order, ſchool and Monaſtery of S. Iltutus. Antiquit Landaven. ſupra.

Llan-Iltut or Llan-gil-fud.

of ſuch a Monaſteriall Schoole, or Colledg of learned, regular Preiſts and divines; and by licence of the Biſhop, or Pope, or both, warranted, and confirmed unto him, by the King or Prince there, with great Priviledges; as that Prince named *Merchianus* thus ſpeaketh unto him, in his old written life: *Magiſtralis tibi cura conceſſa eſt à Pontifice, hoc etiam concedo, & confirmo regali conceſſione: veſtrum Gymnaſium erit univerſale: Tributarii tibi ſervient & omnes indigene: confluent multi ex diverſis partibus: erudiantur documentis liberalibus.* And it followeth in the ſame, and other old authors: very many Schollers flocked unto him, among whom were *Sampſon*, *Paulinus*, *Gildas*, and *David*. He appointed fifty Brethren to have care or memory of ſoules. *Confluebant ad S. Iltutum Diſcipuli plurimi inter quos fuerunt Sampſon, Paulinus, Gildas & David; conſtituit enim quinquaginta fratres, qui continuam animarum memoriam haberent.* Theſe renowned men here reckoned to be his religious learned ſchollers; after glorious ſaints, and Biſhops, *ſapienter eruditi*, exceeding wiſe, and learned; and very many others ſuch, as they were *aliique complures ſicut illi*; and ſo great a number (50.), employed to have continuall care of ſouls, which muſt needs be learned Prieſts regular, under his government, will eaſily give us notice how famous

a schoole and Monastery he was Tutor and Abbot of.

His renowned Scholler S. *Gildas*, surnamed the wise, *Gildas Sapiens*, was most famous for his noble profession, or Institution: He taught the monks of *Nancarvan* under S. *Cadocus* Abbot; and at his entreaty and desire: so he did the Monks of *Gastenbury* at the request of the Abbot there: and he taught his schollers and disciples so, that they became afterwards publike Masters, and Tutors in like manner unto others. *Auditâ fama famosissimi Advenæ, confluxerunt ad eum Scholares plurimi undique audierunt ab eo septem disciplinarum scientiam subtilissimè; unde ex discipulis magistri effecti sunt, sub magistrali honore. The Religion of the most wise Doctor, was so magnified, and praised by all Inhabitants of Britain (à Britannigenis omnibus) that none was found like unto him; nor could be found, for his excellent merits. He fasted as the Eremites of S.* Anthony; *The most religious man praied wonderfully; he wore sack-cloath; whatsoever was given him he presently bestowed it upon the Poor; He abstained from all milke and hony; flesh was hatefull unto him; herbes, and bread made of barley, mingled with ashes was his food; and his drink a little well-water. His face was so leane in sight, by his continuall abstinence, that he appeared to his beholders to*

S. Gildas famous in kind of Monasticall learned life and Profession. **LLan-Carvan B, ant-Carvan.**

Caratocus Nancarbanen; vel potius, *Caradocus Lan-Carvanensis*, in vita sanctiss. atq; doctiss. viri Gildæ Manuscrip. aliud Antiq. & Capgrav. in eodem.

have an ague. At midnight he went into the River, and there said his laudes to God, Deo Laudes persolvebat. Another reading hath *he stayed there till he said thrise our Lords Prayer: fluvialem aquam intrare solebat media nocte: ibi manebat stabilitus, donec diceretur ab eo ter Oratio Domica: then he returned to his Oratory, where he prayed upon his knees, untill day light: he Slept little, and with one coate on, upon a rock. He did eate without fulnes, yet being filled with meditating the heavenly reward. He commanded his disciples; he admonished them to dispise the transitory things of this world. He was a most renowned Preacher, throughout the three kingdomes of Britain.* Thus *Caradocus*, Abbot of *Nancarvan*, where sometimes S. *Gildas* kept his monasticall school; consenting with other old writers; hath described this monasticall Teacher, and Preacher unto us, to know the worthynes of him, and others such in those times.

Llan-Carvan.

S. Tathæus or Thathæus his learned and holy Monastery and School.

S. *Tathæus*, or *Thatheus* (of whom I have made mention before, for founding Priests, Canon-regulars here,) of noble birth in Ireland, and there renowned for his holy life, and learning, was as famous herein Britaine for the same kinde of exercise and profession; as he was in Ireland before, where his fame was so renowned, that from all places young men flocked unto him to be taught, *per-*

currente

currente per universam Hiberniam Fama ejus, confluebant undique juvenes, ad audiendam doctrinam ejus. And coming over into Britain with 8 of his disciples, "*assumptis secum octo discipulis* (to speak in the words of the old Brittish writer of the saints thereof, and others) *Caradocus*, King of both Guents, *Caradocus Rex utriusq; Guentoniæ*, hearing of his fame, did visit the honorable Doctor, entreating him very earnestly that he would go to the City *Guent*, and presently there govern a School; because the Citizens did greatly desire the coming of one that would hold a setled teaching among them. The most learned *Tathans* obeying the Kings entreaty, and desirous to sow the Talent comitted unto him, went to the next City, and began to rule the study-Schollers, that came unto him from all places. And there founded his Church and monastery of 12. Canons spoken of before; and had many renowned Schollars, whereof one was that most glorious man S. *Cadocus*; son of the holy King S. *Gundleus*, one of S. *Thathens* monks; afterwards, Abbot of many monks in Britain; and lastly Abbot, Bishop, and Martyr, at *Beneventum* in *Italy*. And so continued in his assigned place teaching, in great sanctity, watchings, fastings, working many miracles, (*post multa virtutum patrata miracula*) untill his happie death; and was buried

Volibet de titis Sanctorum Walliæ. Capgr. in S. Thathæo. Camb. Antiq. Cantabrid. l. 1.

buried with honour in his own monastery, *& in monasterio suo sepeliri cum honore mernit.*

Veremund. & Hect. Boeth. Histor. Scotor. Capgrave in S. Kentegerno. Bal. lib. de script. cent. 1.

S. Servanus also disciple to S. *Palladius*, Apostle to the *Scots*, and by him consecrated Bishop of the *Orchades*, lived thus in his Cathedral monastery, having many disciples, priests, or clerks his schollars, under his discipline, and teaching; among whom that great glorie of Britain S. *Kentegern*, was a principal man. Our antiquaries, even Protestants and others, write; that *Hildebertus*, a learned Bishop among the *Scots*, thus lived also with his disciples, among whom, *Coelius Sedulius professione Sacerdos Collegiatus*, by profession a Collegiate Priest, renowned in all the Christian world (the holy Church to this day, in the publick office thereof, using diverse things, out of his memorable, and learned writings) was one.

S. Servanus & others famous in this holy kinde of life, here in Britain. Manuscrip. Antiq. & Capgrav. in S. David. & in S. Theliao. Antiquit. Landaven. Eccles. in S. Telia. Godwin in Catalog. of Bishops in Landaff. Manuscri. Antiq. in vita S. Theliai Capgr. in eod. Galfrid. Hist. Britan. S. Asaphus in vita S. Kentegern. Bed. hist. Eccles. in S. Columda, Aidano Cedd. Ceaddi & *alii*.

In like manner S. *Paulinus*, or *Paulens*, (whom I have mentioned before, schollar to S. *German*, and S. *Iletus*) was glorious for this kinde of life, and had many learned and famous schollars; among whom was S. *David* the illustrious *Archbishop* of *Menevia*, *as he is called in all our Records* (I say both our Catholick, and Protestant antiquaries) and by some he had principallity over all Churches of west Britain to the end of his life. *Vir Dei principatum super omnes*

Ecclesias

Eccleſias occidentalis Britanniæ uſque ad finem vitæ ſuæ tenuit. Thus lived *S. David* with many holy, and learned diſciples. So *S. Kentegern* and *S. Aſaph*; ſo the Abbots of the monaſteries of *S. Columba* in our Brittiſh Iſland *Hii*; and others, from whom the happie converſion of the greateſt, or very great part of *England* proceeded, lived at the coming of *S. Auguſtin* hither from *S. Gregory*. Capgrave in illdem. Godwin Cat. of Biſhops. Bal. l. de Scrip. in Kentegern. Aſaph. Aidano.

And after the coming of S. *Auguſtine* hither, this holy learned order, and manner of life was uſed, and continued in diverſe renowned monaſteries; and ſo much the more, as there was more need then of ſuch places, perſons, and exerciſe of inſtruction in holy learning, to inſtruct the ignorant; our univerſities being then by S. *Gregory* interdicted, for errours and abuſes crept into them, by Pagans converſing there. So that learning was much preſerved in ſome monaſteries, and their foundation was principally, or greatly to that end; eſpecially until our univerſities, and Schools were reſtored, and furniſhed with able learned men; and our old renowned Colledg, or School at *Rome* was founded, and endowed by our antient holy Kings to the like religious end; *viz.* to breed up, and ſend learned Prieſts hither; as in theſe dayes of error here, our holy mother, and nurſe, the Colledg at *Doway*; which hath brought

brought forth, so many glorious Priests, blessed martyrs, and renowned confessors, that it giveth place to no Colledg or School in the world, in that splendor of learning and religion.

We finde first, there was such a School, or Colledg of Students in *Canterbury* in *Kent*, soon after the coming of S. *Augustin* thither: And this was an example, and pattern for S. *Segebert* King of the *East Angles*, and S. *Felix* Bishop there, to found the like in that Countrey, as S. *Bede*, and many others prove: "Segebertus regno potitus, "instituit scholam, in qua pueri literis eru- "direntur, juvante se Episcopo Felice, quem "de Cantia acceperat, eisque Pedagogos ac "magistros juxta morem Cantuariorum "præbente. But these Scollars of this Institution, were but young; and their Pedagoges onely teachers of such; nor do we finde any great name, or renown of these, especially of that at *Canterbury*, until the coming of S. *Adrian*, Abbot of that monasterie, and S. *Theodore* Archbishop there, about the year 670 long after S. *Augustins* coming; where, for the fame of those two most learned men, and teachers there; and many learned men schollars resorting to them, it was renowned in this kingdom. S. *Bede*, S. *Alcuinus*, and other glories of this Nation, and of the Christian world in their time, were schollars there:

Bed. Histor. Eccleiast. lib. 3. cap. 18. Capgra. in S. Felice.

And

And as S. *Bede* writeth, from the first coming of the *Englisſh* hither, never were more happie times, "Neque unquam prorſus ex "quo Britanniam petierunt Angli, felicio- "ra fuëre tempora: both for that the Kings were moſt valiant, and Chriſtian: and becauſe whoſoever deſired to be inſtructed in holy learning, had maſters ready to teach them; "& quicunque lectionibus "ſacris cuperent eruditi, haberent in "promptu magiſtros, qui docerent.

But neither of theſe Maſters could be of S. Benedicts rule, being ſo learned, and Tutors to ſo many learned as they were. S. Benedicts rule not allowing above three hours in the day or little more to ſtudie, or read, either to Prieſts, or any in Eccleſiaſtical orders, teachers or hearers (as is evident in his rule as it was compoſed by him, and approved by S. *Gregory*) could neither have ſuch Tutors nor Schollars of it. And *S. Theodore*, being a monk, born and brought up in *Tharſus* in *Cilicia*, in *Aſia*; and having his tonſure as in the eaſt; "Habuerat enim tonſuram more orientalium "S. Pauli Apoſtoli, cannot be of *S. Benedicts* tonſure or rule. Nor *S. Adrian* born in *Africk*; where *S. Auguſtins* order was ſo famous then, Abbot of *Viridianum Monaſterium*, by *Naples* in *Campania*, ſucceſſor here at *Canterbury* to *S. Benedict* Biſhop, profeſſed at *Lyrinum*, and immediate

S. Benedictus in Regula.

Bed. Hiſtor. in S. Theodor. Capgr. in eod. Matth. Weſtm. Chron. Gulie. Malmesb. & alii.

diate Predeceſſor to S. *Alcuinus*, and maſter to him; before known to have been of S. *Martins* order, and chief Abbot of his chief monaſterie at *Towers* in *France*. And the founding of this monaſtery at *Canterbury*, much differeth by all antiquities, from S. *Benedicts* monaſteries.

And King *Ethelbert*, who founded this of *Canterbury*, founded one alſo at *Ely*, and placed there Clergy men, or Prieſts regular. *Rex Ethelbertus fundator primus, miniſtros Deo ſervientes ibidem inſtituit*; and they then uſed ſuch monaſterial ſerving of God, and teaching there; they were diſperſed by *Penda* the *Pagan*: but that monaſtery was reſtored ſoon after by S. *Etheldred* Abbeſſe there, brought up, and profeſſed under S. *Ebba*, Abbeſſe of *Colndi*, ruling both monks and nuns in that monaſtery, *in* Colndi *enim monaſterio virorum, & virginum congregationi præfuit*; as S. *Etheldred* did here, having under her government in this monaſtery 100 monks and nuns. This monaſterial teaching was uſed in her monaſtery; but was deduced from our old Britiſh, or Scottiſh Order, in which ſhe was profeſſed, and received habit by S. *Wilfrid* Biſhop: *Per Wilfridum Epiſcopum habitum Sanctimonialium ſuſcepit*. Wherefore it may be marvailed, why *Polydore Virgil*, ſhould ſingularly without authority, or reaſon, yea againſt them both, write; that theſe

Antiquitatis Eccleſiæ Elienſ. Stowes Hiſtory. Bed. Hiſtor. Capgrave in S. Etheldredra.

these religious Priests and Divines, placed at *Ely* by King *Ethelbert*, were *Benedictin* monks: or any man follow *Polidore* therein, when it is certain by S. *Benedicts* rule, and all antiquities, that *Benedictin* monks never did, nor might live in that manner the others did.

How famous our northern monasteries were, especially those beyond *Humber*, whence the farr greater part of the monasteries of *England* then proceeded (as the converſion alſo of many ſouthern parts, from our northern Apoſtles) we may eaſily conjecture, if we call to memory, but their firſt, and chief Apoſtle S. *Aidan*, and ſome monaſteries of his foundation. Firſt that monaſtery where he lived a monk in the Iſland *Hii*, belonging to *England* (*Inſula Hii ad jus pertinebat Anglorum*) was *famoſiſſimum*, moſt famous in this kinde of holy learning, bringing up S. *Aidan* our northern Apoſtle, and ſo many other learned monks as came with him, and ſoon after to preach here. *Conſuebant quotidie de Gente Scotorum, ad prædicandum Anglis, Monachi de Monaſterio Aidani, quod erat in Inſula Hii famoſiſſimum.*

S. *Aidan* coming Apoſtle hither, began this holy teaching of Scholars, even with the beginning of his preaching here; and being Biſhop, had 12 *Engliſh* men among others, his Diſciples and Scholars, whom he

d lib. 3. hist cap. 26. he brought to that perfection in piety, and learning, that they were all renowned Bishops, or Priests after. *Duodecim, primo Episcopatus sui tempore, de natione Anglorum erudiendos in Christo accepit.* And as our Apostle S. *Gregory* redeemed our English Captives, to instruct them in Christ, and Christian learning, for the spiritual good of *England*: so did S. *Aidan*, and so taught and instructed them in learning, that many became Priests and Preachers here: *multos pretio dato redemptos, suos fecit discipulos: atque ad Sacerdotalem gradum erudiendo atque instruendo provexit.* He brought his Schollars, and Disciples to such perfection in holy learning in the monasteries of his Institution and Order; that the most of our first English Bishops, were of his disciples, monasteries, and rule: S. *Wilfrid* Archbishop of *York*, a man most renowned of his monastery of *Lindisfarn*, S. *Ceadda*, and S. *Cedd*, brethren, his disciples, *Bosa*, *Finan*, *Colman*, *Tuda*, *Bosil*, *Eata*, S. *Cuthbert*, *Acca*, *Ostforus*, and others with *Eadhedus*, and *Tambertus*: by help of whom, with their disciples, and assistants of the said order, and institution; the greatest part of *England* was converted to Christ. His monasteries of men, which he, and his disciples then founded, of this holy learned institution, as *Lindiffarn*, *Maylors*, *Lastingen*, *Eadbarn*, *Braw*, and others; are hard to be numbred.

Capgrav. in S. Aidano Episcopo.

Whether the word should be written *Landisfarn*, or *Lindiffarn*, I know not.

The

The Fifteenth Chapter.

Of many renowned, Monasteries here, where women Abbesses ruled both Monks and Nunns.

OUr Monasteries and renowned Abbies, as *Rependune*, (*Rependuna Cœnobium Nobile,*) wherein women Abbesses ruled both Monks and Nunnes, were not a few; and some of them so famous for this Institution of learning, by direction of the Abbesse, taught and instructed by *S. Aidan*; that out of one Monastery of *S. Hilda*, instituted by him, very many were, and worthily, made Priests, and five Bishops chosen out of her monastery *Streneshalch*, founded but a little before. *Tantum lectionis divinarum scripturarum suos vacare subditos, tantum operibus Justitiæ se exercere faciebat; ut facillimè viderentur ibidem, qui Ecclesiasticũ gradum apte subirent plurimi posse reperiri. Quinq; verò ex ejus Monasterio Episcopi electi sunt: scil. Bosa, Acca, Ostforus, Joannes, & Wilfridus singularis meriti omnes & sanctitatis viri:* She was before this, Abbesse of *Hertheia*, founded by the religious Abbesse S. *Bega*, the first woman in

Guliel. Malm. de Gest. Reg. lib. 1.

Bed. histor. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 23.

Capgrave in vita S. Hildæ.

Northumberland, that received monasticall habit; and that of *S. Aidan*; *consecrante Episcopo Aidano.* And this Monastery was of the same order and discipline, with the other of *Streneshalch* which *S. Hilda* founded according to the other: *eisdem quibus prius Monasterium, etiam hoc, disciplinis vitæ regularis instituit:* and yet, as in the primitive Church; (*ita ut in exemplum primitivæ Ecclesiæ nullus ibi dives, nullus esset egens, sed omnibus omnia essent communia, cum nihil cujuspiam esse proprium videretur*) there was not any rich, nor any poor, but all things Common to all, without propriety.

Here we see this holy and sacred order, by the best testimony we have, instituted according to the example of the primitive Church, and to have continued here thus long, and long time after this, in great Sanctity, honor, and glory; and yet quite different from the Rule and Order of S. *Benedict*; where soever it was long time after, instituted; and as different from the Rules and orders of Egipt. Nor do we finde in those times, or near unto them, so many learned holy, renowned Apostolick Prelates, and Preists to have come forth of any one, or more Monasteryes of S. *Benedict*, or Egiptian order in farr longer time; then out of one Monastery of this Order here, testified by our best Authors, S. *Bede* then living, and others;

yet

yet we muſt needs make this a very old Order, *in Exemplum primævæ Eccleſiæ*; allowed by the Miſſioners of S. *Gregory* hither, S. *Auguſtine*, and his Aſſociates.

Capgr. in vita S. Hildæ. Bed. Hiſtor. Eccl. l. 4. c. 23.

For S. *Paulinus*, the firſt Arbiſhop of York, firſt converted S. *Hilda*, and left her in this holy religious intention; whereof ſhe firſt made profeſſion at *Cale* in france, as her ſiſter S. *Hereſwide*, mother of King *Aldulf* of the *Eaſt-Angles*, did, in the ſame Monaſtery then; and two ſiſters of King *Ethelmund* did *in eodem Monaſterio*, In the ſame Monaſtery; wherein the two glorious brothers S. *Botulphus* and *Adulphus* of this Nation, were profeſſed with many other Monks, upon this probation, which S. *Hilda* had made in France in this Order, our Northern Biſhop, and Apoſtle S. *Aidan*, made her Abbeſſe of the ſame order in Northumberland, according to the ſame old Britiſh & Scotiſh Order. Divers monaſteryes in Northumberland were inſtituted thus by S. *Hilda* S. *Bega*, S. *Ebba*, and others in this time. *Coldingham*, and *Ebbeceſtre* by S. *Ebbe*, ruling both Monks, and Nunns in the ſame Monaſtery. *In Coludi enim Monaſterio virorum & virginum Congregationi præfuit.* The renowned Monaſtery of *Repandome* being thus ruled: S. *Guthlac* was there profeſſed under (Alcfrid) Abbeſſe: *S. Guthlacus cum ætatis ſuæ 24. per regiſſet annos, pompis abrenuncians ſæcularibus,*

Capgr. in vita S. Botulphi.

Capgr. in S. Ebba virg. & Abbatiſſa.

Florent. Wigorn. Chronic. anno 697.

laribus, relictisque suis omnibus, Monasterium Repandanum adiit, ibique sub Abbatissa nomine Altfrida tonsuram & clericalem habitum suscepit.

Nor was this order only beyond *Trent* under S. *Wilfrid* Archbishop of *York*, that first gave S. *Benedicts* Rule; but in other parts under the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*. Queen and Saint *Etheldred* was professed a Nun in the same Order, and Monastery of S. *Ebba*, by S. *Wilfrid* himself; and after one year, *post annum facta est Abbatissa in regione quæ vocatur Elge*, was made Abbesse of *Ely* where she professed that Order, as before ruling both Monks, and Nuns, one hundred men and women, as the old Annals there, and others prove. And S. *Wereburge* Neece unto her, being one that lived under her in this Order; and shee succeeding Abbesse to her Aunt, S. *Etheldred* in that Monastery and Order; was by her brother King *Ethelred*, after the death of their Father King *Vulfer*, made Governesse of all the Monasteries of Nuns in middle *England*, that greatest Kingdome. *Mortuo tandem Patre ejus Wlfero successit Ethelredus frater ejus, qui omnium Monasteriorum Sanctimonialium Regni sui ei tradidit Principatum.* And we must needs say, that in these Monasteries, or diverse of them, she there ruled both men and women, for our Antiquaries deliver, That she was a Mistress, and Ruler

Bed. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 24. Capgrau. in S. Etheldreda & S. Ebba.

Annales Eliens. Stowes history.

Manuscrip. Antiq. in vita S. Wereburgæ Capgrau. in eadem.

Ruler to such there. *Sancta itaque Wereburga erga subjectos ita erat Magistra, ut potius Ministra videretur:* particularly mentioning diverse men under her in those Monasteries. So that we finde this a great and fair extended Order, and by allowance and approbation of our Archbishops, both of *Canterbury* and *York*: all the Bishops under them; our Kings, and all in authority.

I have thus deduced this holy monastical Order, from long time before S. *Benedict* was, and long after, (yet still with great glory and honour) Benedictine Monks came into *England* by all accounts: and yet it came not from *Egipt* by any surmise or imagination. We finde it so antient here, as the preaching of S. *Patrick* in *Ireland*; who professed S. *Modwen* a Nun, who founded many Nunneries, or Monasteries; and had in one of them 150 holy virgins; and besides these, men also had monasticall education under her; among whom we finde S. *Luger*, *Quem cernens* (S. Modwena) *bonæ indolis, adoptavit in filium, & Summo studio enutriens, fide & moribus reddidit eruditum.* Whom she taught, and instructed so, that he was both Priest and Bishop after; and converted many infidels; being a very holy and miraculous man, thus living under S. *Modwen*, his *Domina* Lady, or Governess; as she was to S. *Briget*, and many Nuns, and

Manuscrip antiqu. & Capgrav. in S. Modwena.

Monasteries: *His & aliis miraculis* Luger *confortatus, & Sacerdos effectus, tandem ad Episcopatum sublimatus, multos ab infidelitate revocans in vera fide & Sanctis operibus confirmavit.*

The Sixteenth Chapter.

Our old Brittish, and English Order, strictly forbidding all meetings of Monks and Women, though Nuns; and no such must come into the Monasteries of Monks.

THis Religious Order of such cohabitation of men and women, under one Monastical Rule and Discipline was thus renowned here. Besides which we had, in those times also an Order very holy; and most contemning the world, and worldly things, to be great, and blessed in heaven: that no Monk thereof might see any woman: nor any women, though Queens, and Princes, to be instructed, and taught, might come to the sight, or presence of any Monk, or Abbot: or upon any occasion enter into their Monasterie. This Order was here in the time of S. *Gildas*, in the end of the fift, and beginning of the sixth hundred

hundred year of Christ: and among the rest S. *Carilefus* and his Monastery, with the Monks therof, (before S. *Benedict* entred into Monastical life: or *Egipt* sent any such Order hither) were renowned in this profession.

What this holy Order, and how strict it was, we conceive by this narration thereof, preserved in our Antiquities in these words: *In illis diebus Regina Altrogodis*, &c. In those dayes (to wit of S. *Gildas*) *the Queen* Altrogodis *much desiring to see S.* Carilefus, *for his abstinence, and sanctitie; and to hear words of edification from him, sent messengers unto him, promising all revenewes in that part, where he lived, if yeilding unto her prayers, and entreaty, he would come unto her. The man of God did thus answer. Tell your Lady, if I can prevail any thing, I will pray for her. But let her know for certain; that so long as I live, I will not see the face of a woman; neither shall any woman ever come within this monasterie, which I have builded, our Lord commanding me. For it doth not become us who are accounted of the Family of Christ, to sell the seeing of us unto women; or for gaining of lands, to adventure our soules to the enemy of man-kinde: Therefore let the Queen remove her minde from this intention, and give that part of her revenues to whom she will.* Such was the strictnes of this holy Order in this kinde; Capgr. in vit. S. Gildæ narratione.

and their contempt, and forſaking the world, with the temporall wealth, and riches thereof, ſo great, that they neither might nor would admit the ſight, preſence, or entrance of any woman, how great or vertuous ſoever; though their Queen, and Princeſs, and contemned all temporal benefits, endowments, and preferments, rather then to break, and violate, that their Rule, Monaſtical Law, and Order.

We read of the renowned *Iltutus*, Scholar to S. *German*, father and founder of many Monks, and Monaſteries; that being a married man, before his entrance into his Monaſtical Order; and leaving his wife, a very holy and devout woman, of great auſterity of life, he never did, nor would ſee her after: though ſhe much intreated and deſired it. Scarcely was any Monaſtery in *Britain* more renowned for Apoſtolick holy men; to be a Rule, and direction for other Monaſteries, then the Monaſtery of *Lindiffarn*; and yet our Antiquaries relate, that S. *Cuthbert*, being yet Abbot there, is thought to have made a perpetual Decree, for that Monaſterie; which they call *celebre Decretum*, a renowned Decree, *lege perpetua ſuis ſervis obſervandum*: that his Monks might neither converſe with women, nor any woman ſhould enter into his Monaſtery. The Monks might ſee no women, nor any woman them. *Non ſolum conſortia feminarum*

Manuſcrip. Antiq. in S. to Iltuto Capgrave in eodem. Bal. cent. 1. in Eltuto.

Lindisfarn.

narum inhibuit, verum etiam introitus earum, & accessus & aspectus abscidit. And after he was consecrated Bishop of *Lindisfarn*, by S. *Theodore* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and 6 other Bishops at *York* in the year of Christ 684: having now Episcopal Power over all other Monasteries of this Dioceſs, he made a general Order, and Decree for all Monasteries and Monks under his Jurisdiction, against Monks, and women coming in presence together, or Nuns entring into Monasteries of Monks. Lindisfarn

S. Cuthbert. Episcop. in Decreto Manuscrip. Antiq. & Joan. Capgravius in S. Cuthberto.

Vir Domini Cuthbertus, Episcopali honore sublimatus, omne à fratribus gravi interdicto faminarum seperavit consortium, omnibus viris & faminis consentientibus, omne suis & in præsenti, & in futuro muliebre interdixit consortium, earumque ab Ecclesiæ suæ penitùs ingreſſu amovit introitum. Where we see plainly, it was the Bishops decree, and interdiction, and not any Order in the Rules there before; to institute, and observe such seperations: And to shew the antiquity of the writer, he acknowledgeth it thus continued in his time, that women were not licenced, or permited to enter into such Churches, which was not so in latter Rules; *in nullam Ecclesiã, quas penes Beatus Cuthbertus sui corporis illustravit præsentia, nulla usque hodie faminis introeundi constat esse licentia.* To shew again manifestly that it was in his power to give new Orders, and Institutes,

Institutes, in such places under him, to be observed, and kept as well as those of the antient Fathers; he so chargeth, and commandeth at his death. *Catholica Patrum Statuta diligentissimè discere & observare contendite. Ea quoque, quæ per meum ministerium vobis divina Pietas Institutæ vitæ regularis dare dignata est, exercete solliciti.*

Lindisfarn. And the Monks under him at *Lindisfarn*, and other Monasteries, still kept their old Rule and Order; their habit, their Schools, times, and exercises of learning, and devotion; their strict order of life in diet, and otherwise; they did never drink wine, ale, nor any liquor that would procure distemperature long after this time; nor indeed till after S. *Bedes* daies, when by procurement of King *Ceolluph* entring into monastical life, licence was given to the monks to drink wine and ale; never drinking any thing before but milk, or water by their old Custome: *procurante Rege* Ceollupho, *& Monacho effecto, data est Monachis Lindisfarnensis Ecclesiæ libertas, bibendi vinum vel servisiam; ante enim non nisi Lac, vel aquam bibere solebant, secundum antiquam traditionem S. Aidani Episcopi.*

Rogerus Hoveden Annal. part. 1.

Yea our Antiquaries add that it was the common Order, and Custom of all our Monks here til then; never to drink wine, or ale, or to eat flesh. *Tantum viguit inter Monachos fervor disciplinæ, ut usque ad*

Capgra. in Prologo. Cat. vit. Sanctorum Rogerus Hoveden Annal. parte prieri.

Ceolluphi

Ceolluphi *tempora nec vinum biberent, aut servisiam, nec aliquas comederent carnes.* Whereas S. *Benedict* his own written Rule prescribed the quite contrary for his Monks: *Hemminam vini per singulos per diem*, such a measure of wine daily to every monk, and more if the Prior thought it convenient: *in arbitrio Prioris constitat.* As for flesh, he only forbiddeth the flesh of beasts, fourfooted creatures, unto his Monks, and not the flesh of fouls, or birds, nor doth he forbid any at all to the weak and sick. *Carnium vero quadrupedum, omninò ab omnibus abstineatur comestio, præter omninò debiles & ægrotos.* S. Benedict. in Regulis c. 40.

Wherefore if our antiquaries deceive us not, whilst they tell us that the monks of England, or Britain, did never eat any flesh whatsoever; nor in any place drink wine, til the entrance of King *Ceolluph*, or *Ceilfus* into Religion in *Lindisfarn* monastery; after S. *Bedes* writing and dedicating his History unto him, in the year of 731. And again that the liberty of drinking wine, was permitted to the monks only of *Lindisfarn*, by reason of that Kings profession there; we cannot rationally expect to finde Benedictin monks in Britain for that time: much less can we expect to finde none, (as some contend) but *Benedictin* monks: When it is most certain in our Histories, that our old Scottish and *Brittish* monks, that converted S. Bed. Hist. Eccles. in fine. Lindisfarn.

a great part of England, and founded monasteries of their order in great number, still kept this strict order and rule, except in Lindisfarn *Lindiffarn*: where the rigour was only dispensed with, for King *Ceollnphus* entred a monk there, and by his means or procurement: *Hoc Rege, jam monacho facto, efficiente, data est Lindiffarnenſis Eccleſiæ monachis licentia bibendi vinum, vel ſerviſiam, ante enim non niſi lac & aquam bibere ſolebant, ſecundum antiquam traditionem S.* Aidani, *primi ejuſdem Eccleſiæ Antiſtitis; & monachorum, qui cum illo de Scotia venientes, ibidem donante Rege* Oſwaldo, *manſionem acceperunt; & cum magna diſtrictione Deo ſervire gaudebant.* So that it's evident this change and diſpenſation was only in *Lindiffarn* monaſtery, upon the means, and motive of that Kings entring into monaſtical order, and profeſſing in that place to live as the reſt of the profeſſed monks there did: other monaſteries ſtill keeping their old cuſtome, and obſervation of ſtrict abſtinence.

The

The Seventeenth Chapter.

Our old Order, wherein, and whereby, both monks, and nuns lived in one, and the ſame monaſtery, ſeparated: yet the nuns under the rule and government of monks.

AS I have ſpoken of monaſteries, where the women Abbeſſes had principality, and rule over both monks and nuns, and neither of them belonging to the order of S. *Benedict*: So, if otherwiſe we ſhall finde (as common it was) that the Biſhop or Abbot had rule of nuns, in one, and the ſame monaſterie with monks, it will be as manifeſt, that neither ſuch monks, or nuns could be of S. Benedicts rule, (as he compoſed it, and S. Gregory confirmed it) wherein, is no mention of any ſuch monks or nuns. We have the warrant of Pope *Eugenius*, and the Abbots of the *Ciſtertien* monks (the old and true Benedictin monks) that the monks of S. *Benedicts* Order, might not take charge of nuns living in one, and the ſame monaſtery, with, and under the charge of monks: and that they eſteemed them of another rule, or religion then

then S. *Benedicts* ; who did so live with, and under the government of monks, in the same monasterie. For to S. *Gilbertus*; (who placed in one, and the same monasterie, nuns of the order of *S. Benedict*; and Priests of the rule of S. *Augustin*; (*Monialibus Regulam Beati Benedicti, Clericis vero regulam S. Augustini proposuit*) The Popes and Cistertien Abbots answer was; that monks of their order, might not rule any such as were not of their order, especially if they were nuns. *Dominus autem Papa, & Cistertiences Abbates ordinis sui monachos, aliorum religioni, & præsertim Monialium, præesse non licere dixerunt.*

And although S. *Gilbert* prescribed the rule of S. *Augustin* to the Priests, and the rule of S. *Benedict* to the nuns; yet because this his order was neither contained in the order of S. *Benedict*, nor of *S. Augustin*, but wanted some rules, of other our old Monasteryes, to perfect it; he did actually gather certain statutes from many such Monasteryes, and sent them to Pope *Eugenius*, from whom he received them confirmed. *Et ea quæ minus in Regulis illis invenit à multis Monasteriis statuta excerpsit, & collegit; Papæ Eugenio misit & confirmata accepit.*

What, diverse of these our old Monastical statutes, were serving for this his like order we may gather by what is here thus delivered to Posterity. *Viros discretos, qui tam viris,*

viris, quam mulieribus viam salutis pandu-
rent & Pastorale officium exhiberent, In-
stituit Habitacula Clericorum, à domibus
Monialium procul stantia; ut Canonici legi-
ab illis remoti, nullum ad eas haberent acces-
sum: nisi pro administrando aliquo divino
sacramento, sub multorum testimonio, vide-
ri autem deretha facie omnino Moniales pro-
hibuit; quicquid autem intus, aut extra
fieri sive significari oportet, duo senes pro-
bati extrinsecus & duæ sorores maturæ inte-
rius deputantur, per quos tantum audientes
& mutuò non videntes; quicquid neces-
sum est, nuntiatur. He instituted discreet
men to instruct both the men and the women
in the way of salvation; and to have a pasto-
rall cure of them. He appointed the habita-
tion of the Priests, far from the houses of
the Nunnes, that the Canons being farr
from them, might have no accesse unto them
but for to administer some divine Sacra-
ment, and that under the sight or testimony
of many. He forbad the nuns at any time to
be seen barefaced, And whatsoever was to
be done, or signified within, or without; two
approved old men without, and two graver si-
sters within were deputed; by whom only hea-
ring, and not seeing one the other, all necessary
messages were signified and delivered.

The Pope and Cistercien Abbots before, have told us, that none of these things is contained in S. *Benedicts* rule, and the rule

it

it selfe plainly proves it; as also that Benedictine Monks might not thus live. And though S. *Augustins* Monks, Canon-Regulars, did thus live with these Nunnes, and in great number in S. *Gilbertus* his time; 700. *Canon Regular*, 1500. Nunnes. *Die quo Seculum reliquit circiter viros religiosos septingentos, & sorores Religiosas mille quingentas Deo famulantes reliquit.* Yet we have heard before, that these, and other their Constitutions, were not in his Rule; but taken, and gathered from our other old Monasteryes, and their Rules; where Monks and Nunnes thus lived together, in one Monastery, the Nunnes governed by the Monks; and not these, by them. And if the statutes thus taken and gathered from our old monasteryes, neither were contained, nor to be found in S. *Augustines*, or S. *Benedicts* Rule, yet approved, and Confirmed by Pope *Eugenius*, to make S. *Gilbertus* his rule, an holy, peculiar, and proper rule: no man can deny but our old monks, and Nunnes, that lived according to them in our old Monasterys, whence they were taken, were properly, peculiarly and truly professed monastical persons, by living under and according to such holy, monasticall Rules and statutes, now approved by the highest Authority.

Antiquit. Glastoni. in S. Brigida.

We must needs say, that our most holy and antient Nunnes, S. *Modwen*, S. *Briget* and others, with their holy Convents of virgins

gins were thus ruled, and governed by Bishops, (by whom they were veiled and professed,) Abbots, and other religious men, by whom they were directed, and comforted in holy rites, and sacraments. S. *Brigets* coming to our renowned Monastery of Monks at *Glastenbury*, and her staying there with them; is delivered by the Antiquities of that holy place, and no man will imagin, she either came thither, or stayed there alone, without other virgins, her Associates.

We finde few Monasteries in our Northern Parts more ancient, and famous from the time of *Maximus*; then the monastery of *Jonas*, among the *Hebrides* Islands; an Habitation, and Receptacle famous for religious Preists, Monks, and Nunns then living together most religiously in one and the same monastery; the Nunnes under the Rule and government of the Preists, and Monks; but in different houses from the men, according to what is said before of S. *Gilberts* rule and order. *Exulabant per id tempus Christi sacerdotes, ac monachi, quicunque Scotici erant nominis: Quorum magna pars in Hebrides delata, in Jona Insula sacrum constituêre Cœnobium, multis vere pietati deditis, ad hanc nostram usque ætatem insigne. Dubium an viris, an fœminis sanctimonia plus pollentibus; Nam secretis ædibus religiosam colebant vitam. Effectum parvo postea tempore commune Scotorum Regum Cœmiterium:* Veremund. Histor. Hect. Boeth. scotor. hist. lib. 6. Fol. 114.

Which in ſhort time after was made the funerall place of the Kings. The founding of this Monaſtery in this manner, was about the year of Chriſts Nativity 379. *Fuit annus à Chriſti adventu in carnem trecenteſimus ſeptuageſimus nonus* ; And ſo it continued with honor, and renown to the time of *Hector Boethius* writing in the year 1526.

And as the religious Scots who fled to the *Hebrides* Iſlands in this perſecution, lived in this manner: ſo we may rationally conceive that diverſe of thoſe who fled into other Countries (though a great part, yet not all went to *Jonas*) and ſeated themſelves there to live monaſtically, did the like: there being no reaſon to perſwade us that the monaſtery in the Iſland *Jonas* was ſingular in this manner of profeſſion. Being alſo that the ſcots received their monaſticall Profeſſion from the Britans, we muſt needs ſay this order and profeſſion, was more anciently uſed among the Britans, then the Scots.

And as it continued thus long, and in ſo great ſanctity, and perfection among the Scots; ſo muſt we deduce it, among the Britans, till S. *Gilberts* time; and from him in very many places till the deſolation of King *Henry* the eight. S. *Gilbert* at his death in the year 1189. leaving of this order by his Inſtitution about 700. religious men,

men, and 1500: religious women; as is ſaid before.

The ruling and government, of women by men. Nunns, by Abbots, and Biſhops; was uſuall both in the Britans, and firſt Chriſtian Saxons time; but ruling otherwiſe of Monks, by Nunns, was but ſeldom; as I have proved before. In this kinde S. *Erkenwald*, that was converted by S: *Gregories* Miſſioners, and after Biſhop of London, founded two Monaſteries; one of Monks for himſelfe at *Certſey*; another for his ſiſter S. *Ethelbury* and more Nunnes at *Berkeing*; he giving the Rule to them both, *utrumque regularibus inſtituerat diſciplinis*. And although he appointed an Abbeſſe there; yet he a Monk, Abbot, and Biſhop, with other Preiſts, and Monks with him, had their lodgings in the ſame Nunnery, and cheifly over-ruled there, in monaſticall affaires: and there afterwards he died, many of his Prieſts being then preſent with him.

S. Erkenwald his Monaſtery, where Nunns were ruled by Monks.

Capgrau. in S. Erkenwaldo.

Guliel. Malmesb. lib. 2. de geſt. Pontif.

Matth. Weſtmonaſt. chron. an. 675.

Capgrau. in S. Erkenwaldo.

And S. *Wilfrid* Archbiſhop of *York* (who firſt delivered the Rule of S. *Benedict* to be obſerved of any monks, or monaſtery in *England*, both before, and after this, (by all antiquaries, even *Benedictin* Monks) was founder, and ruler by himſelf, and others; of many monaſteries both of monks, and nuns, that were not of S. *Benedicts* rule: For it is written of him in his old Epitaph.

S. Wilfrid; (who firſt delivered the Rule of S. Benedict in England to be obſerved in any place) was brought up in our old Order here; and never with Benedictines.

Epitaph S. Wilfridi Ripon. Bed Hist. lib 5. cap. 20.

Inque locis istis monachorum examina crebra
Collegit, ac monitis cavit, quæ regula patrum
Sedulus instituit; ——Which (with *Bede*, and others) testifies that he founded very many monasteries, according to the old rule of the antient fathers of these Countries. And this, of which I speak, being known to be one of them, I may not seperate it from so many of our old foundations of S. *Wilfrid* in those parts; as being that where he first had his Monasticall education, in our old Order of *Lindisfarne* where he was placed by Queen *Elfiede* when he was but fourteen years old, to live after the manner of our old monks in that colledg or monastery. *Quem ad Insulam Lindisfarnensem misit, & Monachorum Collegio Sociari fecit*; In which he lived divers years *in quo Monasterio cum aliquot annis Christo serviret.* But he never lived in any other Monasticall Rule, or Order, in, or out of Britain; but such, as were here of old time; for any thing we find in Antiquities, Benedictine, or, others.

Manuscrip. Antiq. & Capgrav. in S. Wilfrido Episcopo.

We finde indeed one Benedictine monastery, the first that was in these parts, (as Pope *Constantine*, and many others great witnesses have proved,) where S. *Wilfrid* gave the Rule to the Monks, and consecrated the Church, *Consecrato loco per sanctum Wilfridum Episcopum: sit in potestate proprii Abbatis*

Capgrav. in S. Egwino Episcopo.

batis ſervanda regula Dei, & S. Benedicti: But this was far out of S. *Wilfrids* Epiſcopal power, and Juriſdiction at *Eveſham* in Worceſterſhire: and onely performed by him, in the Popes name and by his authority; that neither King, Prince, nor any man whatſoever might contradict or withſtand it; *ut neque Rex, neque Princeps, neque ullius ordinis homo locum illum ſanctum diminuat.*

Wilfridus apud Guli. Mal. mes. lib 3. de geſtis Pontific.

And our Antiquaries do plainly ſay, that when S. *Wilfride* did publikly affirme; that he was the firſt, that gave the Rule of S. *Benedict*, to be obſerved here of any Monks; he ſaid, he did that and other things, then, and there, named; *Apoſtolica fultus Authoritate*; by the Popes Authority. And S. *Gregory* confirming S. *Benedicts* Rule, for ſuch parts of Italy only, as underſtood the the Latin tongue. (*Per diverſas partes Italiæ, ubicunque latinæ literæ, legerentur:*) The Popes Authority was needfull for S. *Wilfrid*, or any other, to ſettle it in any place of England. And alſo that all Antiquities, even of Benedictines, prove; that the Countries, and places about *Eveſham* in Worceſterſhire, had many Monks and Monaſteries, with their Rules; when Pope *Conſtantine*, in his publick Bull is witnes that S. *Benedicts* Rule was not till then in theſe Parts: *Quæ minus in illis partibus adhuc habetur.* Yea the

Capgrau. in S. Wilfrido.

S. Gregor. in approbation. regulæ S. Benedicti in Privilegio monaſterii ſublacen.

Guliel. Mal. mesbur.

Conſtantinus Papa in Bulla Eveſham.

old Benedictine Antiquary of S. *Augustines* in Canterbury, saith plainly that S. *Wilfride* was the first that brought Benedictines into England; and that England had *quam plurima monasteria*, very many Monasteries, before that Order of S. *Benedicts* came hither; S. *Wilfride* not being born, till long after S. *Augustines* mission hither, and very many Monasteries settled here, by all accounts.

The Eighteenth Chapter.

The holy learned, Apostolicke Rule, and order of S. Kentigern, *and his many sacred Disciples in divers places, and renowned Monasteries.*

NOw let us come to S. *Kentigern*, that was a Bishop 160. yeares; was 7. times at Rome, and lived till S. *Gregory*, (named our Apostle, and who sent S. *Augustine*, with his Associates hither,) was Pope; and as others his Predecessors actually, or virtually did before; so, when S. *Kentigern* had made account unto him of all his life, election, consecration, and proceedings (S. *Gregorio speciali Anglorum Apostolo, totam vitam suam, electionem, & consecrationem, & omnes casus qui ei acciderant, seriatim enodavit;*) S. *Papa illum virum Dei, & Spiritus Sancti gratia plenum, intelligens: Consecrationem ejus, quam à Deo noverat provenisse, confirmavit. Et in opus ministerii à Spiritu S. illi injunctum destinavit.* This holy Pope perceiving thereby that he was a man of God and replenished with the grace of the holy Ghost

S. Asaphus in vita S. Kentegerni.

Capgrau. in eodem.

ghoſt confirmed his conſecration which he knew was from God, and ſent him to perform the work of the miniſtry enjoyned him by the holy Ghoſt.

The calling, manner of life, Rule, Order and proceedings, of this our glorious, religious and Apoſtolike Biſhop, being thus amply warranted, and approved, by that moſt learned Pope; we may not doe that diſhonor to God in Heaven, to his greateſt vicar on Earth, to this Apoſtolick Biſhop ſent to the Scots, Britans, and many other Nations; nor that wrong to this his noble native Country, and the reſt, to whom he was Apoſtle; as to leave him in oblivion, without all memory: Nor can we with any authority either carry him into Egipt, or fetch him thence; or ſtay his birth ſo many yeares, as untill S. *Benedict* was both borne, and had given his Rule, in Italy; which was, almoſt 100. years after S. *Kentigern* was Monk, Abbot, and Biſhop of an Apoſtolick Order here, who being baptized an infant by S. *Servanus*, and brought up by him; and afterwards conſecrated by S. *Palladius* before remembred, the Popes legat in this countrey; and by all authors, liveing 185. Yeares, and a Biſhop 160. muſt needs live, long after the beginning of the Engliſh Church, and S. *Auguſtins* coming hither; with his Monks and monaſteries, haveing founded many. *Monaſteria*

Joan. Balæus. lib. de ſcriptor. cent. 1. in Aſaph. S. Aſaphus, & Capgravius ſupra.

ria multà fundavit. In proof of his education we finde expresly in his holy life, written by his renowned Scholler, and Succeſſor S. *Aſaph* (who joyned with S. *Anguſtine*, and his Miſſion;) that *S. Servanus* the holy learned Biſhop taught him, with many others; and that he above all, ſo profited in vertue, and learning, that he was moſt beloved of him, and called by him, **ſynghu Mcu** or **ſymcu**, or **ſynghu**: quod Latine dicitur Charus vel chariſſimus meus. My beloved; *Illumque* **Munghu**, *quod latine dicitur chariſſimus animus ex conſuetudine appellavit.*

What the Rule of his many Monaſteries was, we may beſt know by what wee finde concerning that renowned Monaſtery he founded (wherein he long lived) at **LLan-Elwy** or *Elgu* in Northwales, now between the rivers **Elwyd** and *Elwy*; where he left S. *Aſaph*, to ſucceed him both in Monaſticall and Epiſcopall Power; he well knowing from the doctrine, teſtimony, example, and practice of the firſt Apoſtles of Chriſt, and from Chriſt himſelfe, how eminent, and excellent a perfection it was, to preach Chriſtian Religion, and miniſter the Sacraments with the Rites therof; it being the higheſt even among them, that by voluntary poverty, Chaſtity and obedience forſake the world.

ut 6. Rom. 15. 1. Corinth. 9.

Firſt, all in this Monaſtery, being in number

number 965. learned and unlearned; lived in regular discipline, in great abstinence living God: *Sub regulari disciplina, in magna abstinentia Deo servientes.* How severe this regular Discipline was, under which they lived, and how great the abstinence they used; wee may learne from what wee finde S. *Kentigern* himself their Ruler, and Rule-giver, to have observed.

Anno ætatis suæ vicesimo quinto (saith our author) *Consecratus est Episcopus, & omni tempore vitæ suæ post triduum, & multoties quatriduanum, Cibum sumpsit, panem scilicet & lac vel caseum, aut butyrum. A carnibus, & vino, & omni quod inebriare potest omnino abstinuit. He was consecrated Bishop in the 25. yeare of his age; and all the time of his life he tooke not food, but after three or four daies fast, and this was bread and milke, or cheese, or butter. He abstained from flesh, and wine; and wholy from every thing, that could make one drunken. He used next his flesh, a most sharpe haire-cloath, and upon it a garment made of Gootes haire, and a straight hoode; over which being covered with a white Albe, he wore a stole, and continually carried his Pastorall staffe, not round and guilded, or sett with pearles, but of plaine wood only bended backward; alwaies having in his hand a manuel book, ever prepared for doing his office, when need or occasion required. His bed was*

a

a ſtone made hollow like a cave, with a ſtone under his head, and a few aſhes ſtrowed under him with a haire-cloath over them; where having taken a little Sleep and reſt, he quickly raiſed himſelfe again and ſtood naked in the cold water while he ſung the whole Pſalter; and this cuſtom he continually obſerved, except Journies or ſickness hindred, haile, ſnow, or raine did not let it. And howſoever he was hindred from this work, he redeemed it with ſome ſpirituall exerciſe. Every Lent, he ſeperated himſelfe from the ſight of men, goeing into deſert places, taking for food only the rootes of hearbes; Every Maundy thurſday he waſhed with teares the feet of a great multitude of poor, and Leapers, with often Kiſſes, and after diligently attended on them at table. On good Friday he continued all day, and night, with whips of rodds, nakednes, and often Kneeling. On Eaſter eve, and in honor of our Lords Reſurrection, except in time of divine Office, hee lay hidden in a certaine grave whipping himſelfe.

Of the Apoſtolick converſation, and proceeding of this bleſſed man and his diſciples, I ſhall ſpeake more hereafter. This will ſuffice for us to take notice, of what great abſtinence, and ſevere diſcipline his Rule, and diſciples were; who being Schollers under ſuch a Maſter, and rule, might not much differ from them in ſuch things, which were

were a great Part of their holy Profeſſion.

For better enabling the learned of his Colledge, or Monaſtery, to be Preachers, and Apoſtolick men, and to follow their ſtudies, with the ſervice of God continnally without ſuch letts and hindrances, by bodily labour, as was then, and after, uſed in many Monaſteries; he divided the learned from the ignorant: and one part of the unlearned, he employed to husbandry, and keeping of Cattle abroad out of the Monaſtery; the ſecond or other part of thoſe unlearned, performed the corporall works, and offices within the monaſtery. The third part which was the learned, being in his Colledge of *Elgu* 365. He *aſſigned to ſtudy, and to celebrate divine offices: and did not eaſily permitt any of them to goe forth, but appointed them continually to ſtay, as it were in the Sanctuary of our Lord. He divided his Colledge by Companies, and Convents; and one Convent ending their Service to God in the Church, another immediatly entring began it; and that company ending, another preſently entred and performed. And ſo one company going forth, and another coming in, prayer was made to God continually, by that Church; & they bleſſing our Lord at al times the praiſe of God alwayes reſounded in their mouth.*

S. Kentigerns monks and order moſt learned, holy, and Apoſtolick to many Nations.

By theſe meanes, as our antiquaries, even Proteſtants, with others aſſure us, he had, in his Colledg at *Elgu*, (beſides others,) alwayes

always 365: Learned Apostolick men; and sent of them into the *Orchades* Islands, to *Norway*, *Island*, and other extern Nations, to preach Christian Religion unto them. *Ex discipulis suis quasdam ad Orchades Insulas, ad Norwegiam, & Islandiam misit, ut eorum Instructionibus fidei lumen reciperent. Nam in Elguensi Collegio trecentos, & saxaginta quinq; literatos viros, ad id semper paratos habebat; præter reliquos aliis exercitiis deditos.* And finding in approved, Authenticall Records, Laws, and Antiquities, that our British, Apostolick Preists, in this time preached not only in *Norway*, and *Island*; but also in *Greenland*, (accounted part of *America*,) *Scantia*, *Suecherda*, *Gothlandia*, or *Fatland*, *Dacia*, *Serulandia*, *winlandia*, *Curlandia*, *Roe Fennlandia*, *Wirelandia*, *Flandria*, *Cherrelas Lappa*, *Laplant*; and all lands and Isles of the East Ocean to *Russia*, & *omnes terras*, & *Insulas orientalis Oceani usq*; *Russiam*, & *multas Insulas ultra Scantiam usq*; *dum sub septentrione*, and many other Islands beyond Scantia, even until the Pole-Artick: we may not think but that divers of his Apostolick disciples, were with others employed in so great & happy labors; he having besides that of *Elgu* many Monasteries of that his own Institution, And he himself, (*Apostolico more, pedes ad prædicandum perrexit*) after the Apostles manner, going on foot to preach the Gospel of Christ, converted many to the true Faith; the Countrey

Capgrave. Supra. Jo. Bal. lib. de Scrip. cent. 1. in Kentigern. Godwin catalog. of Bishop Asaph. In legib. S. Edward. in Rege Arthuro & aliis.

or Llan Elwy.

Country of the Picts called Galloway, he recalled from Paganisme and heresy; he converted Albania; reclaimed Apostates; confounded the Pelagians; baptized those that were not baptized; overthrew their Idols; Founded Churches; preached to the Scottish sea, bringing the Athatians, Caledonians, Horestians, and the Inhabitants of the Countries neare to Albania to the observation of Truth; and founded many Monasteries. Commonly whereſoever he went or preached he restored sight to the blinde, hearing to the deafe, going to the Lame, Speech to the dumb, understanding to those that were madd.

S: Asap his vita S. Kentigerni. Capgrau. in eodem. Veremund. & Hector Boeth. Scotor Histor lib. 9. Balæus lib. de Scrip. cent. 1. in Kentigern & Asaph.

Such was the order, rule and Apostolick manner of life of this renowned saint, and his holy disciples, (farr from the manner of Egiptian or Benedictine Monkes:) and therefore (without wrong to their merit and the honour of this nation) not to be buried in unnaturall forgetfullnes; being thus set forth and delivered to us, both by antient, and late; Catholick and protestant Antiquaries; all of them making this Order so holy, learned, and Apostolick; approved both by the greatest Authority in Britain; to wit, by S. *David*, Chief Archbishop, and the Popes legat there, (most familiar with, and honoring S. *Kentigern*, and his proceedings in his Dioces; and reciprocally honoured and obeyed by S. *Kentigern*) and also

alſo by the Popes of Rome themſelves viſi-
ted by the ſame S. *Kentigern* ; And again
in S. *Gregories* time ; who as he after ap-
proved S. *Benedicts* Rule , for moſt parts
of Italy ; ſo with greateſt honor and re-
nowne confirmed, approved, and ſingular-
ly commended S. *Kentigern*, and his mo-
naſticall and Apoſtolick proceedings gene-
rally , not for one only Nation , but rather
for all ; eſpecially , ſo many as I have before
particularly remembred.

The

The Nineteenth Chapter.

The holy Order, and Monasticall Rule and profession of S. David, *famous and renowned now in this kingdom of* Britain.

WE had in Britain in this long time of S. *Kentigerns* Apostolick life, diverse others of great honor, in the Church of God, both for their Apostolick conversation, and monasticall Institution, renowned in the whole Christian world, then, and to this day, with such as seek not to bury their glories, (and their Countries, in them,) with undutifull omission and neglect; such were S. *David* S. *Columba*, or *Columkella*, S. *Brendan*, and other givers of holy Rules to those of their religious Orders.

S Asaph, & Capgrave in S. Kentigerno Capgrave in S. David.

S. *David* is called by S. *Kentigern*, *Decus Britannia*, the honor of Britain: and is commonly stiled *Pater Patriæ*, the father of his Country; *S. David, Summus Protector, summus Prædicator, à quo omnes normam, atque formam rectè vivendi acceperunt, effectus est. Ipse cunctis ordo, correctio, imitatio, legentibus Doctrina, egentibus vita, Orpha-*

nis

nis nutrimentum, nudis fulcimen, patria caput, Monachis, regula, ſæcularibus vita fuit. S. David was made chiefe Protector, chiefeſt Preacher, from whom all received a rule and order of well Living. He was an order to all; Correction, imitation, learning to readers, life to the needy, nouriſhment to Orphanes; a ſtay to the naked; Head to his Country, a Rule to Monks, a life to lay-people: He expelled the Pelagian hereſy, and ſettled Truth. *Et S. David totius Britanniæ Archiepiſcopus conſtituitur; nec non Civitas ejus totius Patriæ metropolis dedicatur, ita ut quicunque eam regeret, Archiepiſcopus foret: Expulſa itaque hereſi, omnes Britanniæ Eccleſiæ modum & Regulam Romanæ auctoritate acceperunt, Monaſteria, per loca conſtruuntur.* S. David is conſtituted Arch-Biſhop of all Britain, and his City dedicated the metropolis of all the Country: that he was to be Arch-Biſhop, to whomſoever the rule of that City was committed. And hereſy being expelled, all the churches of Britain received a manner and rule of living by authority from Rome; diverſe monaſteries are erected. This proveth how honorable he was at Rome, which together with his miraculous journy to *Hieruſalem*, his holy converſation in thoſe places, and the Popes aſſigning him to be an Archbiſhop here; made him glorious in theſe parts, and ſo farr hence.

He and his great ſanctity was propheſied

many yeares before he was borne, by S. *Patrick*, and S *Gildas*. His death, and immediate glory in heaven after, were wonderfull, as they are related by many witnesses; and as the passage was revealed to S. *Kentigern*; then farr absent, and at the very time thereof thus testifiing it to his holy Disciples. *Noverit is filii Charissimi Sanctum David, Decus Britannia, Patrem Patriæ carnis Carcerem modo egressum regna cælestia penetrasse.* Be it known unto you dearly beloved brethren; that S. David the honor of Britain the father of his Country, being even now gon out of the prison of his body is ascended to the heavenly Kingdomes. Believe me, that not only a multitude of Angels brought him into the Joy of his Lord: But our Lord Jesus Christ going forth to meete him, at the Gates of Paradise crowned him with glory, in my sight, me vidente.

Asaph & Capgrave in S. Kentigerno.

Thus most renowned Prelate, amongst other his religious good deedes, and Apostolick actions, founded twelve monasteries wherof one was at *Lemster*; another at *Gowir*, one at *Rosina* vally, and others in other places; and to give his testimony to the holy Rule, and Order at *Glastonbury* still continuing, founded a new Church there, and gave great gifts thereunto. And for his owne, and other Monasteries, especially that which he had founded *in valle Rosina*: (*construcio in valle Rosina Monasterio salem*

Antiquit. Glastonienſ. in S. David.

Capgrave in eodem.

canobiali

canobialis propositi rigorem decrevit,) he instituted this rigorous rule for monastical life. S. Davids Rule of his Monastery given by him

That every Monke sweating at daily Labor should with the Labour of his hands spend his life in common. For he that doth not Labour, as the Apostle saith, may not eate: Knowing, that secure rest, is the Nourisher and Mother of vices; he subiected the shoulders of his Monkes to hard wearysomnes: for they, who yeild their times, and minds unto the quiet of Idlenes, bring forth an unconstant spirit, and incitations to lust, without quiet. They refused the possessions of the wicked: they would take no guifts; they detested riches; they had no care for Cattle to till the ground; every one was riches to himselfe and his brethren, and every one was an Oxe to doe their work. They had no speech together, but what was necessary, every one either praying or meditating things pleasing to God, finished such work as was enjoyned him. When they had don their field works, returning to the Cloisters of their Monastery they spent the the whole day to the Evening, either in reading, or writing, or praying: In the Evening when they heard the sound of the bell; presently leaving their works, they went to the Church; and when the Stars appeared, comming to the table together they did eate; but not to fullnes; for too much satiety, though of only bread begetteth wan-

tonneſs. They did only eat bread and hearbes poudered with ſalt, and ſlaked their thirſt with milke, mingled with water. After ſupper was ended, they perſevered about three houres in Watchings, Prayers, Kneelings. So Long as they were at their prayers in the Church, none of them durſt gaſp or Sneeze, or freely caſt out Spittle. Theſe things thus ordered, they gave their members to ſleepe: and awaking at the Cocks-crowing, they continued in Prayers till it was day. They openly manifeſted even their Cogitations to their father or Abbot; Cogitationes Patri propalabant; they asked him leave to doe the very needfull things of Nature. They were cloathed with garments, made of Skinns: whoſoever deſired to enter into the converſation of the holy Order of the brethren; muſt firſt continue 10. dayes before the dores of the Monaſtery, as rejected, and rebuked alſo with reprochfull words: But if well uſeing Patience, he perſevered till the tenth day, then he was received by the Father, that looked to the gate and inſtructed. Afterwards if his comportment deſerved it, he was admitted to the company of the brethren. *They received nothing of them that deſired their converſation; but as naked men eſcaping ſhipwracke they were received; that they might not have occaſion of extolling themſelves. S. David himſelfe after Matynes ended, preſently went into the cold water wherein he long*

ſtayed

ſtayed, taming the heat of his fleſh. Thus, and in theſe very words, is the holy rule of S. *David* remembred in our Antiquities: which, as it was written before S. *Benedicts* rule, ſo cannot poſſibly proceed from that, and we are already aſſured that before it was inſtituted, and decreed by S. *David*, it could not be derived from any Egyptian, or other Order. The very firſt entrance unto it, with ten days expectation and patience, (S. *Benedicts* rule aſſigning 4 or 5; and S. *Pachomius* in his Egyptian rule, no certain days or time, even unto the end thereof) evidently ſhews it very much differeth from them both, and others; yet theſe Monaſteries of S. *David*, and this holy rule continued in honor here, long after the beginning of the Engliſh Church; and in ſo great account and renown, that *Reges & Principes, ſua regna deſerentes, ejus Monaſterium petebant, Kings and Princes forſaking their Kingdoms, entred into his Monaſtery:* Conſtantine *King of* Cornwale *forſaking his kingdom, became a Monk in his Monaſtery, and there lived in happy ſerving of God a long time.* Who afterwards builded another Monaſtery of that holy Order, and was ſent an Apoſtolick Preacher into *Scotland*, where he was Martyred, long after his forſaking of his earthly kingdom; and in proceſs of time, as to an holy canonized Saint, had many Churches by Epiſcopal authority dedica-

Veremund. Hector. Boeth. Scotor. hiſtoria lib. 9.

ted unto him: *Cui relato in Divorum numerum, Templa nonnulla sacrorum Pontificum Authoritate dicata conspiciuntur.*

Gildas de exsid. Britan. in maglo carator in vita S. Gild.

This is that King *Constantine*, whom *Gildas* much discommendeth in his time, but after the writing of that History, in the time of King *Malgo*, or *Meluas*, *Melua Rege reguante*, (who reigned from the year 580, to 586.) was thus holy, and glorious a saint, living long in saint *Davids* rule, and Monastery. And S. *David* himself not born till 30 years after S. *Patrick* his preaching to those parts, and unborn when S. *Gildas* was a renowned Preacher; (S. *David* being at his death 147 years old, *Angelica comitatus Caterva cœlestia Regna petivit, anno ætatis suæ centesimo, quadragesimo, septimo*) we must needs say, that *David* lived after the beginning of the Church of the Saxons here; many of them being converted in King *Arthurs* time, and living Christians.

Antiq. Glastonienſ. in ſancto David.

And as the Antiquities of *Glastonbury* deliver, Saint *David* with seven Bishops was there *Anno Domini* 566. where many of our English Nation were professors of Christianity. And this holy place of *Glastonbury*, being then in great fame for Christian Religion, even by our Protestant Antiquaries, and others, was at that very time, and had so continued from the coming of *Cedic* King of that place in the year 495, and his sonne King *Kenric* in the year 535, under

Proteſtant. Faſti Regum & Epiſcoporum Angliæ an. 495. & 535

under the Saxons rule. And in the year 601, by the old Antiquities of that ſacred monaſtery, *Morgret* being Abbot there over many Monks, and *Mauuto* their holy Biſhop; the King over thoſe parts was either a Chriſtian, or ſo friendly favouring and maintaining Chriſtians, and their Religion, that he gave to the old Church of the Monaſtery of *Glaſtonbury*, the land called **Inſwitrin**, at the Petition of *Morgret*, their Abbot. *Rex Domnonie terram, que appellatur* **Inſwitrin** *ad Eccleſiam vetuſtam conceſſit, ad petitionem Morgret ejuſdem loci Abbatis.*

Antiq Glaſtonien. anno 601. apud Guliel. Malmsb. lib. de antiquitate cenobii Glaſton.

Ynys witrin.

We had divers other Monaſtical rules, acknowledged by old Writers; for common general Rules, (not Monaſterial only, that is to ſay, appropriated to one Monaſtery, and no more) of holy religious ſaints, which either were of this kingdome, or long time converſed here in Monaſtical profeſſion: as ſaint *Columba*, whoſe Order converted many of our Engliſh both perſons, and whole Provinces; and S. *Columban*, of whom I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Now the better to obſerve time and order, I will treat awhile of S. *Gregory* the great, the eſpecial Apoſtle of the Engliſh Nation, who was a profeſſed Monk in the holy learned order, commonly ſtyled the order of his Monaſterie, or ſaint *Gregories* order, and who began the happy function of Apoſtleſhip to *England*, at *Rome*, where he converted

verted divers of the Engliſh Nation, and placed ſome of them in his Monaſtery to enable them, to aſſiſt in the general converſion of this their Countrey; then, and from that time, ever intended and ſought by him without intermiſſion. And I ſhall prove this to have been divers years ſooner, then the firſt coming of S. *Columba* into Britain: which by S. *Bede*, and others, was not till the year of Chriſts Nativity 565. *Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ quingenteſimo ſexageſimo quinto, venit de Hibernia Presbyter, & Abbas habitu & vita Monachi inſignis nomine* Columba *Britanniam, prædicaturus verbum Dei.*

Columban.

Bed. Hiſtoria Eccleſias, lib. 3. cap. 4. Columban.

The

The Twentieth Chapter.

The Parentage, Birth, and most holy education, disposition, and life of S. Gregory the Great, Apostle of England, *in his younger years.*

GRegory (after styled both by ancient, and later, Catholick and Protestant Antiquaries; S. *Gregory* the Great, the most Learned Pope, Doctor of the Church of God, Apostle of *England*, Institutor of the Gregorian Order, Institutor, Master, and Teacher of those holy, Apostolick, Monastical men, sent hither, from his Roman Monastery, for the conversion of this Noble Kingdom;) was born in the City of *Rome*, of a most honourable and holy family, the renowned Senator *Gordianus*, and blessed *Sylvia*, being his most worthy parents.

As the old Writers of his life deliver, *it was not without some great presage, that this name was allotted unto him: for* Gregorius *in Greek, signifieth as much, as vigilant, or watch-*

Paulus Diaconus in vitâ Sancti Gregorii.

watchful in Engliſh. And in very deed, he was watchful over himſelf, whileſt exactly adhering to the Commandements of God, he led a vertuous and laudable life here on earth: He was vigilant over the faithful people of Gods Church, when by the force of his fluent Doctrine, he made plain unto them the ready way to heaven. And this kingdom of *England*, with others, whoſe Apoſtle he was, muſt needs give an high degree of vigilancy unto him, in being brought from errour, hereſie, and infidelity, to be true believers by his ſpecial care, & induſtry. This his general, and great watchfulneſs over all, did juſtly and truly give him the honor and renown of *Gregorius magnus*, *Gregory* the great, ſaint *Gregory Niſſen*, and ſaint *Gregory Nazianzen*, were renowned, religious Biſhops, watchmen and overſeers in their Epiſcopal Sees, and Provinces; but the greateſt, and general vigilancie, and ſuperintendency to, and over all, we muſt appropriate to this our greateſt *Gregory*.

Paulus Diac. ſup.

How congruouſly this ſignificant name was impoſed upon him, he began even in his tender and young age, moſt manifeſtly to declare: *From a child* (ſaith our Authour) *he was ſo well inſtructed in the liberal ſciences, that though at that time, the ſtudy of learning flouriſhed much in* Rome; *yet he was judged ſecond to none in the whole city: In tenera etate religioſis Senibus Indagator ſollertiſſimus*

Jo. Diacon. lib. 2. vit. S. Gregor. ca. 3.

lorissimus adhærebat; and in this his tender age, being a most diligent learner, had old religious men for his Instructors; and with all desire of his heart, aspiring to the countrey of everlasting life, settled himself to devotion towards God. Even then making choice of such religious life, as he desired, and intended to professe, and honor: which he most religiously performed, after his Fathers death, when he had full power to dispose of himself, and all his ample patrimony, *Ubi liberam disponendarum rerum suarum nactus est facultatem*; having till that time deferred, and long protracting his Monastical profession, *Conversionis suæ gratiam longiùs protrahens*; and then receiving that Monastical habit, he had so long desired before, *diuque desideratum Monachichum capiens indumentum.*

Paulus Diac. sup.

Jo. Diacon. lib. 1, vit. S. Greg. cap. 3. & 4.

Cap. 6. supra. Florent. Wigorn. Chronic.

Our old Benedictin learned Monk of *Worcester*, *Florentius* plainly affirmeth, that S. *Herculanus*, the old holy, learned, glorious Monk, Abbot, Bishop, and Martyr, under *Totilas* at *Perusia*, was one of these old, religious Instructors of S. *Gregory*, *Vir sanctissimus Herculanus nutritor Beati Gregorii.* And he bringeth S. *Gregory* himself so to witness, *Ipse (Sancto Gregorio) in Dialogo suo hoc referente*; and indeed S. *Gregory* in his Dialogues hath these very words, *Vir sanctissimus Herculanus nutritor meus Perusina Civitatis Episcopus fuit, ex conversatione*

Gregor. lib. 3. Dial. cap. 13.

Ibidem.

verſatione Monaſterii ad Sacerdotalis gratiam deductus. The moſt holy man Herculanus *my bringer up, was Biſhop of the City* Perusia, *brought from the converſation of a Monaſtery, to the grace of Prieſtly Order.* If this moſt holy learned man, was Tutor and Inſtructor to S. *Gregory*, it muſt needs be (before he was Biſhop of *Perusia*) when he was an Abbot in *Rome*; when only ſaint *Gregory* could receive ſuch inſtruction.

Gregorius ſup. Marian. Scot. in Sancto Herculano.

And being S. *Herculanus* was at *Perusia* ſeven years during ſo long a ſiege by *Totilas*; it muſt neceſſarily follow, that S. *Gregory* being inſtructed by him ſo long before, was an ancient Scholar in ſuch diſcipline, before S. *Benedict*, (or any of his diſciples) was *religioſus ſenex*, an old religious man to be any Tutor to S. *Gregory*. For the Benedictin Writers themſelves, confeſſing, that if S. *Benedict* had lived (as divers of them hold) untill the year of Chriſt 601, he had been but about 90 years old, (*Anno ætatis ſuæ plus minuſve nonageſimo, Indictione* 4. 12 *Kalend. Aprilis*,) it followeth both by them, and thoſe who ſet down his death, about the year 543. (above 56 years taken out of 90,) that he was far from an old man, when S. *Gregory* was as aforeſaid taught and inſtructed by S. *Herculanus*, or any other old religious man, ſo long before the death of *Totilas*. The like I ſay of S. *Equitius*, for them that would have S. *Gregory* to be

Trithemius li. de Scriptoribus in Sancto Benedicto. Florent. Wigorn. Chro.

of

of his Order; but especially for such as make S. *Equitius* Junior to S. *Benedict*.

S. *Gregory* himself is best witness, that neither S. *Equitius*, nor S. *Benedict*, nor any of their disciples, young, or old, were in *Rome*, when S. *Gregory* had his before mentioned education there. S. *Equitius* was a meer stranger in that place. S. *Benedict* went thence very young, *despectis literarum studiis*, contemning learning; which S. *Gregory*, above all others, both for himself, and his disciples, most desired, and advanced throughout the whole course of his life.

S. Gregor. loc. cit. & 2. Dialog.

Florent. Wigorn Chron. Gregor. lib. Dialog. Marian Scot.

And both these our old *Benedictin* Monks S. *Gregory* himself, and others prove; that S. *Benedict*, S. *Chorbonius*, and S. *Gregory*, lived in this the time of S. *Herculanus* tutor to S. *Gregory*. *His quoque temporibus, beatus pater Benedictus magnis vitæ meritis, & Apostolicis virtutibus fulsit. Quod autem* S. Gregorius *his temporibus fuit, ipse in libro Dialogorum ita probat; vir quoque vitæ venerabilis Chorbonius Populonii Episcopus magnam in diebus nostris sinceritatis suæ probationem dedit.* And yet it doth not appear by any Writer, but that S. *Gregory* and S. *Benedict*, were altogether strangers, and utterly unknown one to the other: which S. *Gregory* himself doth sufficiently testifie and prove, when entring to write the life of S. *Benedict*, with the other renowned

ed men of *Italy* of that time, he taketh the relation of S. *Benedict* his life, from four of his disciples, *Constantine*, and *Simplicius* succeeding their Master S. *Benedict* at *Cassinum*; *Valentinian* sometime ruling at *Lateran* in *Rome*; and *Honoratus* then living, and ruling at *Sublacus*, S. *Benedicts* first Cell, writing nothing of his own knowledg of him.

Gregor. Dial. lib. 2. in initio.

I add that it seemeth by his own writing that he knew nothing of S. *Benedicts* Rule by any of these; But long after, when he was Pope, making mention of it then, as a thing then newly known from such Monks of *Cassinum*, as fled thence with this unknown rule to *Rome*, when S. *Gregory* was Pope. Nor could those before named disciples of S. *Benedict*, (who as professing a religious rule, could not be elder in that profession, then the Master by whom they were instructed in it;) be the old religious men that were Tutors and Teachers of S. *Gregory*, even before S. *Benedict* himself was an old man. This is evident in it self, and is farther proved and confirmed by this, that three of the cited disciples, to wit, *Constantin*, *Simplicius*, and *Honoratus*, never had residence in *Rome*, where S. *Gregories* old religious instructors taught him and continued. The fourth, which was *Valentinian*, lived indeed sometime at *Lateran*; but came not thither till long after S. *Gregory* was a professed

Greg. dial. l. 2. prope finem. Segebert chron. an. 596. Mat. Westmon. an. 596. Marian. Scot. an. 596. vel 597. Florent. Wigorn. an. 596.

fessed Monk in his own Monastery. Therefore we must not seek to dispose S. *Gregory* to be an *Equitian*, or *Benedictin* Monk by any old religious Teachers or Instructors in *Rome* in this his time of learning there.

Yet we shall easily find both in *Italy*, and *Rome* her self (where S. *Gregory* lived, learned, and professed Monastical life:) great plenty, and choice for him, (or any man of far meaner learning, and judgement, then he was, when he founded his Monastery;) to choose their rule, and profess it, with so many learned and holy men as he did; whether we will seek for general, or Monasterial holy rules. *Rome* & *Italy* had then the old general rules of S. *Basil*, *Fructuosus* and *Pachomius*, translated out of the Egyptian tongue into Latin by S. *Hierom*; out of which three, S. *Benedict* gathered and composed his rule, as Antiquaries deliver unto us. *Eugipius* a learned Priest and Abbot, wrote the life of S. *Severine*, and the rule of his Monks; so did *Isaac* a Monk, and Priest write a rule; so did S. *Cæsarius*, Bishop of *Arles*. The learned rules and orders of *Lyrinum*, of S. *Augustin*, of S. *Martin*, were now renowned in *Rome*, in Monasteries there. S. *Kentigern* of this our Britain, a most holy, learned, Apostolick man, that instituted a most learned, and Apostolick rule; was famous there in these days; having been seven

Rugul. S. Basilii Fructuosi, & Pachomii, Hieron. in vita S. Pachomii. Manuscrip. antiq. de Regul. S. Benedicti. Trithemius lib. de scrip. in Eugipio, & in Isaac. Monacho. S. Cæsarius in regul. S. Asaph. in vit. S. Kentigern. Capgr. in eodem.

seven times at *Rome*; and having the whole manner of his Apostolick life and order, confirmed with great honor by S. *Gregory*, being Pope, before he confirmed saint *Benedicts* rule.

The particular Monasterial rules, and orders in *Rome*, and *Italy* in that time; (whereof divers were learned, and Apostolick) were very many; all those, which were not general, were reputed particular rules; and such also were the general rules themselves, of S. *Augustin*, saint *Basil*, saint *Martin*, saint *Pachomius*, saint *Benedicts*, and others, till they had allowance for publick. Wherefore saint *Gregory* living when, and where, was so great variety, and choice of Monastical, holy, learned rules and orders; he being also so religiously, and learnedly disposed, as he ever was; and withall so rich, and able to found his Monastery: and again, (if not before, yet soon after his Monasteries founded) intending the conversion of *England* by himself, and by his Monks: wee cannot rationally think, but that he made choice of the most perfect, and learned Apostolick rule, he could; to perform so holy, and great designs, and intendments.

All

All his Apostolick Predecessors Popes, that sent Apostolick men hither to preach the Gospel, though out of other Monasteries, and not their own; made choice of such most perfect and learned men for that purpose. S. *Eleutherius* Pope, made choice of the Apostolick men, S. *Damianus*, and *Phaganus*, for his missioners hither. Pope *Celestinus* chose the renowned S. *Palladius*, S. *Germanus*, *Lupus*, S. *Patrick*, and others, to perform Apostolick duties here: which may well perswade us that our most loving and learned Apostle, (being by his enemies confessed the most learned of all Popes of *Rome. Omnium Romanorum Pontificum doctissimus*) would do no otherwise; and his fact doth abundantly prove it, when of his mission hither, out of only his Monastery, six were after, holy, and learned Archbishops; and he himself before he founded this his Monastery, was even by Benedictine Writers, old and late; (*Scientia, sapientia, doctrina, & sanctitate emicuit insignis & doctissimus*) *renowned for knowledge, wisdom, learning, and sanctity, and most learned.* Surely, such a man would not make choice of any, but the most holy, and learned rule, and order, he could institute and ordain.

Jo. Bal. lib. de Pontificibus Romanis in Gregor. magno. Bed. Hist. Matth. Westmonast. Capgrave &c.

Sigebert. Chro. Anno 558.

Mat. Westmonast. an. gratiæ 555.

Apostolat. Benedict. in S. Gregorio.

And of all Rules, and Monastical Orders, I must needs be of opinion, that the Rule of S. *Gregory*, and his renowned Monks, came nearest to the Apostolick holy Rules of S.

Auguſtine the Doctor, (whom S. *Gregory* moſt honoured) of S. *Martin*, of *Lyrinum*, and S. *Kentigern*. All theſe he found, and knew at *Rome*; and did, or eaſily might by his learning, know, that they were all here in *Britain*, whether he ſo much deſired to come: and therefore in all likelihood, he choſe one of theſe, or made one, ſo near to thoſe as might be; that he might more eaſily join with them here, as his Apoſtolick Monks and Miſſioners (whom he ſent hither from his own Romane Monaſtery) did.

Manuſcrip. Antiqu. & Capgrave in S. Cungaro Mat. Paris Hiſt. in Reg. Stephan. Vita S. Lupi. Manuſ. perantiq. Britannicum Capgrave in S. Patricio & S. Niniano & S. Kentigerno. Jo. Diacon. in vita S. Gregor. lib. 1. Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Greg. in reſponſ. ad Auguſtinum. Capgr. in S. S. Auguſt. Mat. Weſtm. Chro. Florent. Wigor. Chron. Capgr. in S. Benedict. Epiſt. Bede & Mat. Weſtm. in eodem.

S. *Cungarus*, and S. *Patrick*, brought S. *Auguſtins* Canon-Regulars into theſe parts. S. *Germanus*, and S. *Lupus*, brought in the *Lirinian* Apoſtolick Order. S. *Patrick* alſo brought in the learned Order of S. *Martin* his Uncle; So did S. *Martins* Nephew, S. *Ninian*, Apoſtle to the South Picts; by Nation a Britain, as S. *Patrick* alſo was. S. *Kentigern*, ſo well known, and approved by S. *Gregory*, firſt founded his Apoſtolick Order here in Britain. And all theſe renowned Orders ſoon joyned with the Diſciples of S. *Gregory*, and theſe with them, in holy profeſſion. S. *Gregories* Monks, both with himſelf at *Rome*, when he was Pope, and with our firſt Biſhops here in their Cathedral Churches, lived, as S. *Auguſtin* Canon-Regulars, and that by S. *Gregories* order and direction. S. *Benedict*

Biſhop

Bishop of *Lirinum*, being before brought up with our old religious men here, went to *Lirinum*; was there professed after two years of probation, as in S. *Gregories* Monastery: went thence to *Rome*, where S. *Gregories* Monks, and Monastery were: and coming thence into *England*, was the first English Abbot of S. *Augustins* Monastery in *Canterbury*, of S. *Gregories* Rule and Order; and the next immediate Abbot to the last of S. *Gregories* Disciples. Then of S. *Martins* Monks and Order, S. *Alcuinus* (Abbot after of S. *Martins* chief Monastery at *Toures* in *France*) was the next Abbot of an English man to S. *Benedict* Bishop at S. *Augustins* in *Canterbury*, of S. *Gregories* Order; and next of all to S. *Adrian*, who was a stranger, and the immediate successor to S. *Benedict* the Bishop.

Catalo. Abbatum Cantu. Guliel. Malm. Hist. in Alcuino. Catalog. Abbatum Cant. Vita S. Alcuini.

As for S. *Kentigerns* Order, and Apostolick proceedings, S. *Gregory* himself hath before, with great honor approved them in him. And here in Britain, S. *Asaph*, disciple, and successor to S. *Kentigern*, in his renowned Apostolick Monastery at *Elgoa*, afterwards named S. *Asaphs*, from him, for his holinesse; with divers hundreds of his learned Apostolick Disciples there; joyned with the Apostolick disciples of S. *Gregory*, which he sent hither from his Roman Monastery. And all these Rules, and holy Orders, both in *Rome* and *England*, had

Manuscrip. Antiqu. in S. Asapho Capgr. in eodem. Jo. Bal. lib. de Scriptor. in Asapho. Godwin. Catal. Bish. in Asaph. Manelmp.

allowed approbation, not only from S. *Gregory*, when he was Pope, before he approved S. *Benedicts* Rule, for those parts of *Italy*, where they understood the Latine tongue; (*per diversas partes Italiæ, ubicunque Latina litera legerentur*) but also from his Predecessors, Popes of *Rome*, and their most worthy Legats, S. *German*, S. *Lupus*, S. *Patrick*, S. *Dubritius*, and S. *David* in Britain.

Gregor. in approbat. Regul. S. Benedicti in Privilegio Sublacens.

Wherefore we must needs affirm, that S. *Gregory* in his young years had his old religious Tutors and Instructors from some of these Apostolick professions; so very learned, renowned, and approved by greatest Authority, and Power in *Rome*; and so agreeable with the Rule, and Order of his Monastery; and that he took, and learned his Rule, and Order from them, rather then from those, who were not then known in *Rome*; nor by the greatest testimony of Pope, and twenty Benedictin Abbots, might or could keep the Rule of Saint *Benedict*; (when it was allowed, as it was composed by him, and approved by S. *Gregory*) either in *Rome*, or any City, Town, or Castle.

Eugenius Papa & 20 Abbates Cisterſienſ. in Charta publica.

Sigebert. in chron. Guliel. Malmsb. Hiſt. Greg. lib. 2.

And therefore, when divers Monks of *Cassinum* fled to *Rome*, to avoid the persecution and rage of the *Lumbards*, in the time of Pope *Pelagius*, Predecessor to S. *Gregory*; and *Valentinian*, one of S. *Benedicts* disciples, (as S. *Gregory* writeth) ruled there

Dialogo in initio.

in a Monaſtery at *Lateran*; it is to be obſerved, that though he ſaith, the Monaſtery of *Lateran* was ruled by *Valentinian*, diſciple of S. *Benedict*, yet he neither calleth him a Monk profeſſed of S. *Benedicts* Order or Monaſtery; nor it, a Monaſtery of Benedictines, but a Monaſtery at *Lateran*, becauſe he knew S. *Benedicts* Rule could not be obſerved in any City, as is as above declared; and conſequently, *Valentinian* neither did, nor could rule there abſolutely according to S. *Benedicts* rule; if it had been then at *Rome* approved, as indeed it was not till many years after, as both the alledged great Authority hath declared, and S. *Benedicts* rule in many Chapters proveth; as ſhall be plainly exemplified hereafter.

Where it is farther to be obſerved, that S. *Gregory*, when he approved S. *Benedicts* rule, and all Monaſteries, that might be called S. *Benedicts*, as keeping his Rule and Order, and of his foundation; (*Caſſinum*, and that near *Terracinum*, as it ſeemeth being both deſtroyed) he findeth but twelve Monaſteries to be confirmed for S. *Benedicts* Monaſteries: '*Et confirmans duodecim Monaſteria, quæ ipſe ſanctas conſtruxit.* And ſpeaking of *Caſſinum*, before it was deſtroyed; the Cell of *Sublacus*, the Monaſtery of *Lateran*, where *Valentinian* ruled, and of S. *Benedicts* twelve Monaſteries in *Campania*; he calleth theſe S. *Benedicts* Monaſte-

Greg. Dial. li. 2. c. 22.

Greg. in Privilegio ſublacen.

rles: *Caſſinum* alſo S. *Benedicti* Monaſtery, and *Sublacus* his Cell, *Cellam ejus*. But for the *Lateran* Monaſtery, though he expreſly ſaith, *Valentinian*, a chief diſciple of S. *Benedicts* ruled there many years; (*Qui annis multis Lateranenſi Monaſterio præfuit*) yet he never calleth it a Benedictin Monaſtery, or Monaſtery of S. *Benedict*, but only a Monaſtery at *Lateran*: well and aſſuredly knowing S. *Benedicts* rule, neither was, nor could be obſerved there, or in any ſuch place. And yet this firſt coming of *Valentinian* to *Rome*, (or of any other diſciple of S. *Benedict*, ſo enforced thither) was many years after S. *Gregories*, learning his Monaſtical life of old religious men in *Rome*; yea, after he had founded his Monaſteries with their Rule and Order: and after he was a profeſſed Monk, and alſo Abbot; and again, after he had ſought and laboured the converſion of *England*, framing his Rule and Order for ſuch moſt perfect Apoſtolick labours; he himſelf having once begun his journey to be an Apoſtle here.

Greg. lib. 2. Dialog.

Jo. Diacon. li. 1 vitæ S. Greg.

All theſe things were moſt religiouſly performed by S. *Gregory* in, or before the Papacy of *Benedictus* the firſt, beginning it in the year 573, and ending it in 577 year of Chriſt. Whereas *Valentinian*, and the other Monks of *Caſſinum*, did not come to *Rome* till the time of *Pelagius*, the ſecond Pope of that name; next Succeſſor to *Bene-*

Breviar. Sarisbur. & Eboracenſ. in S. Greg.

Leo Caſſinen. in Chronic. li. 4. cap. 2.

Abb. Urſpergen. in Chron.

dictus

dictus in the *Lumbards* persecution; when by the best benedictin Writers, *Leo Caſſinenſis*, *Abbas Urſpergenſis*, *Aimoninus*, and *Paulus Diaconus*, (as our preſent Benedictin Writers confeſs and approve) *Bonitus* was Abbot there till the year of Chriſt 580; and there (to wit, in *Rome*) becauſe they could not keep the rule of S. *Benedict*, (as *Paulus Moriſius* of Millan, an Italian, of the Order of S. *Hierom*, in his Book of the Inſtitution of holy Orders, with, and from others, writeth) in place of the Layity, they ſung Pſalms: the Canon-Regulars of S. *Auguſtins* Order, being placed there long before by *Gelaſius*, (who was afterwards Pope) to ſay maſs, preach, and to adminiſter the Sacraments. And the perſecution ceaſing, they alſo ceaſed to be in that abode; as no place to keep S. *Benedicts* rule; and the Canon-Regulars of S. *Auguſtin* only continued there. So that, we ſee clearly enough, it is but loſt labour to ſeek any old religious tutors & inſtructors for S. *Gregory* in *Rome*, (to inſtruct, and bring him up to ſo great piety, wiſdom, and learning, as he was endowed with, before he entred into Monaſtical life) that were or could be of S. *Benedicts* Rule or Order.

Aimonius de Geſt. francorum li. 3. ca. 79 Paulus Diaco. lib. 4. de geſt. Longobard. Apoſtol. Benedictin. tract. 1. §1. p. 189. Pau. Moriſius lib. de Inſtit. ordinú Onuphrius Panuinus 16. Grimſton &c.

To enter into this Rule, was not what he had choſen and intended deferring (*Longius*) ſo long his converſion into it. The Monachical habit of S. *Benedicts* Order, was

not that, he had ſo long deſired to put on, and to be profeſſed in, *diù deſideratum monachicum capiens indumentum.* The habit ſo long deſired, muſt needs be the habit of that order, he had aſſented unto, with prolonging of his entring into it. Of all others, the Benedictin habit could not be of long time, or any time then deſired, of him; it not being then known unto him; nor yet aſſigned to be of any known, or certain colour by S. *Benedict* to make it particularly to be deſired; his very Rule leaving his Monks to chuſe the moſt common and cheapeſt. *De quarum rerum omnium colore, aut groſſitudine non cauſentur Monachi, ſed quales inveniri poſſunt in Provincia, in qua habitant, aut quod vilius comparari poteſt.* Whereas *Joannes Diaconus*, and others, ſet down the habit of S. *Gregory*, his Monaſtery, and Monks, to be of no ſuch cheapeſt ſtuff or colour; but otherwiſe, and quite different and diſtinct from any, at any time uſed by Benedictin Monks.

S. Benedictus in Regula cap. 55.

What in particular was the holy Apoſtolick Rule, and Order of S. *Gregory*, his Monks, and Monaſtery, will be made more manifeſt, when we come to the foundation, and inſtitution of his Monaſteries, wherein he placed Monks to live according to the Rule and Order, he choſe and delivered unto them. In the mean time it ſufficeth to ſay, that ancient approved Authors name it

the

the rule of S. *Gregory*; and the *Gregorian Inſtitution*: and the Writers of holy Monaſtical Orders, both Catholick and Proteſtant, call it among others, the *Gregorian Order*.

And S. *Gregory* being the moſt Monaſtical of all the Doctors of the Latin Church; and having ſo high a deſign, as the Converſion of *England*; which requited ſo much learning, and vertue in the Miſſioners, as could not be attained by any Benedictins, without extraordinary aſſiſtance of God; as the caſe ſtood with them in thoſe days, when they could not by their rule ſpend ſo much time in ſtudy, as was needful for ſuch a work: being alſo that the other three Doctors, S. *Ambroſe*, S. *Jerom*, and S. *Auguſtin*, inſtituted each of them a particular Order; it would ſeem ſtrange, that S. *Gregory* having greater cauſe, and being moſt able, ſhould be wanting in this point.

And no leſſe ſtrange, would it be that a man of ſuch ſanctity, and humility, as S. *Gregory* writing the life of Saint *Benedict*, ſhould never name him his Maſter, Tutor, Father, or Founder, if he had been ſuch indeed: (which overſight, or neglect is not eaſie to find in Regulars, with whom, nothing is more frequent, then upon every the leaſt occaſion to mention their Founders with great reverence and reſpect;) or term his Scholars, brethren; (as he doth thoſe Monks of his own Monaſterie:) but always

ſpeak

ſpeak of him, as of a meer ſtranger, and one to whom he did no way belong, or was beholding to, which he could not have done, if he had been his diſciple, or of his Order. Which reaſon alone, (if there were no others) is ſufficient to prove our purpoſe; which is alſo more confirmed, becauſe the *Roman*, *York*, and *Sarum Breviaries*, which mention his Maſters in Religion; have not one word either of S. *Benedict*, or any of his diſciples; nor the leaſt inſinuation of his being a Benedictin. And therefore I cannot but needs think, and affirm, that no man of judgement hath reaſon to hold, the late deviſed opinion (of S. *Gregories* being a Benedictin Monk) to have either probability, or colour of truth.

The

The one and Twentieth Chapter.

Saint Gregories *great piety, learning, and wisdom after in his youth; and when, and how, he first began his Apostolick care of* England.

THE Conversion of the English Nation from Paganism, to the Roman Catholick religion; for which he justly merited the honourable style of their Apostle; was so anciently intended by S. *Gregory*, that his Apostolick desire thereof, will easily appear to have been one of his first greatest glories, and to have had beginning either before the institution of his Monasteries, or so soon in his ordering of them, that he fitted his rule to enable and perfect his Monastical disciples for that religious Apostolical work.

All that write the History of Saint *Gregory*, remember therein his great love to this kingdom, his redeeming the children born here, carried to *Rome*, and there sold as slaves; bringing them to Christ, baptizing them, and (as our Antiquaries deliver) so dispo-

disposing of them, in learning, and religious life, that they might be employed in time convenient in the conversion of this kingdom, their Country; disposing of them, I say, both then, and still after, till he sent S. *Augustin* and his other disciples hither, to effect, what he had so long, and earnestly sought to bring to passe. And among those other disciples of Saint *Gregory*, sent hither, were some of these our first English convertites, as our Antiquaries prove. From which happy time, and S: *Gregories* most holy, and never interrupted desire of the conversion of the English or Saxons; we may worthily name, and call him their Apostle.

Bed. Hist. Eccles. That, which among other things in the true narration of these matters, proveth these intentions to have been most ancient in the holy proceedings of S. *Gregorie*, is this; that it is most certainly reported, and witnessed by all Relators of that matter, that King *Ella*, or *Alla* of *Deira*, (to which names S: *Gregory* then so Prophetically spake,) was no Christian, but a Pagan at that time. And soon after, according to the true propheſie of S. *Gregory*, *Alleluia* was there sung: the people of *Deira*, whereof *Alla* was King, in great numbers were taken out of the anger of God, *de ira Dei*: and the King, with his Nobles converted to Christ, and baptized by the renowned Apostolick Bishop *Lucius* of our *Bangor*: These things being publickly

Jo. Diacon. in vita S. Greg. Paulus Diac. in eadem.

Capgrave in S. Augustino. Mat. Westm. Chron. Stow. Histor. Hollinshed. Hist. Manuscript. Gallican. antiquum. Manuscript. Anglic. antiquissimum.

publickly performed, and so Christianity openly professed; as renowned Antiquaries, and Antiquities, (some, the most ancient of the English Writers before S. *Bede*) are witnesses; testifying also, that this conversion of King *Alla*, and his Nobles, with others in great number, was, before the marriage of the parents of Emperour *Mauritius*; who, (as the Writer of the lives of Emperours, joyned to *Suetonius*, noteth in his life) was in the year of Christ six hundreth and three, (when he was slain by *Phocas*) threescore years old. *Sexagenarius occiditur.*

Scriptor. vit. Imperatorum in Mauricio.

By which account of learned Writers, we must needs give this great honor to S. *Gregory*, and make the Rule, and Order of his Roman Monastery, (the last of his Foundation) more ancient, then the Rule of S. *Benedict* was. For our Antiquaries make both S. *Gregories* Roman Monastery founded, and himself a Monk, and publick Preacher at this time, *prædicante* S. *Gregorio*. And yet by this reckoning, we shall not make S. *Gregory* so old by divers years, as so many ancient Benedictin Monks, and others have made S. *Benedict* to have been. But we shall, and must confess and acknowledge, he began to deserve his great title of Apostle to the English Nation, in converting those young men; that no man was, or could be before him then, in that title, and deserving.

Ethelw. Hist. l. 2. c. 1.

Bishop

Bishop *Lucius* himself came behind him in this kind of honor; So did all others after, in any respect named Apostles in any part, or Province here; as in *Northumberland*, *Marchland*, *East-Saxons*, *East-Angles*, *South-Saxons*, or *West-Saxons*; S. *Birinus*, S. *Aidan*, S. *Felix*, or other. These were but particular Apostles to some parts and persons: S: *Gregory* had the common and general Apostolick care of all; even from this time to his latter end; and nothing was so much aimed at by him in this world, as to labour for *Englands* good. He forsook all things in this world, to be a religious Monastical man: but this was nothing to him in respect of his Apostolick love, to make this kingdom Christian. This was greater, and more pleasing to him, then *Rome* his Native most renowned Apostolick City; where he was so much honoured and beloved, that when he had obtained leave of Pope *Benedict*, to come hither in proper person to such a holy end; and was come three days journey on his way; the Romans in troups and multitudes, ran to the Pope, crying out unto him, *Petrum offendisti, Romam destruxisti, quia Gregorium dimisisti*; *Thou hast offended Saint* Peter, *thou hast destroyed* Rome, *because thou hast sent* Gregory *away*: and so they enforced him to send for him back again.

Jo. Diacon. l. 1. Vitæ S. Greg. cap. 23, 24. Paul. Diacon. ibidem in vita S. Gregor.

He was drawn out of his Monastery by Pope

Pope *Benedict*, to be made Deacon in the Church of *Rome*; and to assist him in his charge. But his will, and desire to convert *England*, drew him out of his Monastical life, with the chains of most perfect charity to effect it. His Apostolick pains for *England*, were much more dear to him, then to be Pope, and the chiefest man in this world in his own City. *England* as far as he could, he sought; the other, as much as he was able, he avoideded: hiding himself, to shun that greatest honour; but that he was miraculously discryed, and chosen, to enjoy it.

The Apostleship to the English (whereat he so much endevored) was questionless one of the most meritorious services to God he could think on in this world: and it was no less honourable, especially performing it, as S. *Gregory* did, so absolutely, and independently of any other Institution, Order, Religious, or Learned man; but himself, his own Disciples, Priests, and Religious men of his own Roman Monastery; the Rule, and Institution thereof, being made and given by himself, and by no other whosoever; as all kind of witnesses to be cited hereafter, shall most manifestly prove unto us: and his mission hither being of men only from his own Monastery; and of such as he had before taken thence, to live familiarly with him, when he was Pope; and those the most holy;

Bed. Histor. Gregor. in Epistol. Mar. Westmo. Chr. Hen. Hunting. Jo. Diac. lib. 2. vit. S. Greg. cap. 11. Paul. Diacon. in vita S. Gregorii.

holy; *Monachorum verò sanctissimos sibi familiares elegit, Augustinum Monasterii sui Præpositum, & Mellitum, per quos Anglorum gentes ad Christianismi gratiam convocavit:* whom he sent hither *vice sua*, in his own place; because then being Pope, he could not come in person; which he had so much, and so long desired before, but could not obtain it: No Pope, Bishop, Priest, Institutor of any Religious Order, or any of their Disciples; having such care over, and love to the English, as he, and his Disciples by his procurement, exhortation, and most happy order, and designment, had.

S. Augustin. Orat. ad Regem Ethelbertum Capgravi in S. Augustino.

Neither *Rome*, nor *Italy*, at that time, (as sufficiently appeareth by Saint *Gregories* proceedings herein) had such, and so many, learned, and Apostolick men, in any other Monasteries, Schools, Colledges, or places of Piety, and holy Learning; as these disciples, and Apostolick Missioners of S. *Gregories* Monastery, and Rule thereof; (he testifieth it ever, *semper*, had such) whom he had thus trained, and brought up to such excellent perfection: otherwise, no man would think, but that S. *Gregory* so holy, and learned a man, (then Pope and Commander of all places, and persons) for such a holy business, would have chosen, and sent some from other places. But since he, and he only enabled them so many years, and to such perfection singularly above others:

and

and then ſent them hither with all helps, furtherance, and aſſiſtance, he could; directing them in all things belonging to this happy work, confirming their labours and effects; and ordering all things in that beginning of the Engliſh Church: we muſt needs ſay, that he hath moſt worthily deſerved the renowned title of *Apoſtle of England*. So the Church of *Rome*, ſo the Church of *England*, in their old Offices Eccleſiaſtical of S. *Gregory* ſtyle him: So our ancient Councels, Writers, and Antiquities acknowledge him, and ſo honour him without exception.

Therefore the Engliſh men may ſay of him, and of him only, with S. *Aldelm*, that old Glory of *England*, (ordained Abbot by Biſhop *Leutherius* his conſtitution, at the Petition of other Abbots here; not by election, as in S. *Benedicts* rule, but before we find that order here) ſpeaking immediately before of S. *Gregory*,

Leutherius Epiſcop. in charta vel epiſt. Guliel. Malmſ. bur. in Leucherio & Aldelmo.

Hujus Alumnorum numero gloriantur ovantes,
Quos tenet in gremio fœcunda Britannia, Cives:
A quo jam nobis Baptiſmi gratia fluxit,
Atque Magiſtrorũ veneranda Caterva cucurrit.

Thus Engliſhed by a late Benedictin Monk:

In number of his children gladly ſtand,
All that have place in fruitful Britains land.
From him, to us Baptiſmal Grace did flow,
To him our Troups of Teachers we do owe.

Thus he ſpeaketh plain of S. *Gregory*, as is proved before, in his book of verſe, *de virginitate*, and in the ſame book in proſe written after, (as *Benedictines* confeſs, *deinde Proſa oratione contexuit*) as plainly as any Writer can do. And moſt evident it is, by what is ſaid before, that the Apoſtolick men ſent hither, were the *Alumni* of S. *Gregory*, & not of S. *Benedict*, who was dead before they were, or could be *Alumni* to any; and that the baptiſme and converſion of the Engliſh, came from S. *Gregory* a Pope then living, and not from any Monk or Abbot that was no Prieſt to baptize, and was dead many years before any were converted or baptized here, by the aforeſaid Miſſioners.

Apoſtol. Benedict. tract. 1. ſect. 1. pag. 23.

This were to take the honour of our Apoſtle S. *Gregory*, (approved by all Popes of *Rome*, and Biſhops in *England*, ſince that time) from him, and give it to one, never affirmed, or thought of to be Apoſtle here. And we have the moſt authentical teſtimony, that can be in ſuch a caſe of Pope *Conſtantine*; Kings *Offa* and *Kenred*; S. *Wilfred*, and S. *Egwine* Biſhops; and of all the

Conſtantin. Pap. epiſt. ad S. Erkenwaldum Archep. Cantuar. Offa & Kenred reges in charta. Wilfridus & Egwin in Capgravio in vit. S. Egwini

the Biſhops of *England*, that till the founding of the Monaſtery of *Eveſham* long time after the death of S. *Aldelm*, S. *Benedicts* rule was not received in thoſe parts, *illis partibus*, where *Eveſham*, S. *Aldelm*, his monks and monaſtery, and all thoſe Abbots, and their monaſteries, mentioned by Biſhop *Lentherius*, and *William* the Benedictine old Monk of *Malmsbury*, were at that time.

And if by ſo great teſtimony & aſſurance, S. *Benedicts* Rule was not till then received in thoſe parts, they who would have no monaſtical orders in *England*, after the coming of S: *Auguſtin* hither, but Egyptian and Benedictin Monks, muſt make their authority greater then that Popes, thoſe Princes, and Prelates: Or ſay, that S. *Auguſtin* himſelf, with his partners in the miſſion hither, and all the ſucceeding Monks for the ſpace of an hundred years, were (which no judicious man will avow) of ſome Ægyptian order; for by the authority cited, S. *Benedicts* Order was not received in any place of *England*, till at *Eveſham*, above an hundred years after ſaint *Auguſtines* coming hither.

This I ſay the rather in this place, becauſe they who would have S. *Gregory*, S. *Aug.* & all his aſſociats hither Benedictin Monks; and title their book of this queſtion, *Apoſtolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*: The Apoſtleſhip of Benedictins in *England*; and

Apoſtol. Benedict. præf. p. 1. pag. 102.

do ſay, and would have it beleeved, *primos Angliæ Apoſtolos, & Magiſtros fuiſſe monachos Benedictinos*; that the firſt Apoſtles and Maſters of *England*, were Benedictin Monks; and contend for this in all their arguments, that the Apoſtleſhip of *England* belongeth to S. *Benedict*, and to the Monks of his order; and that the Baptiſm and converters of *England* came from S. *Benedict*.

A quo (Benedicto) *jam nobis baptiſmi gratia fluxit.*

Atq; Magiſtrorum veneranda Caterva cucurrit.

They, I ſay, muſt needs deny, (againſt ſo many, great authorities, and continuance;) that title, and honor of Apoſtle of *England*, to S. *Gregory*, of what order ſoever he was, and give it to S. *Benedict* the chief, and author of that order: for if the baptiſme of Engliſh men came from S. *Benedict*, if their inſtructors and teachers in religion here at that time, came from him, if all Engliſh Chriſtians were his children in Chriſt; he certainly, and not ſaint *Gregory* muſt needs be the Apoſtle of *England*.

Robertus Cotton. Joannes Seldenus. Henricus Spelman. Guliel. Camdenus. Proteſt. Antiquarii.

Yet both theſe men, and their 4 proteſtant Antiquaries, ſiding with them herein, doe utterly diſinable both Benedictin and Egyptian Monks, (which only they would have here) to be Apoſtles, converters, or Preachers of, or to this or any Nation, making them generally lay, and ignorant men, few learned;

learned, few Prieſts, all almoſt tradeſmen, and artizens: they diſ-enable alſo the rule, and order of S. *Benedict* (as it was written by him, and allowed by S. *Gregory*, about ſuch time as S. *Gregories* Monks, old, learned, holy men came hither from his Roman moſt holy, learned Monaſtery) to breed, and bring forth ſuch men, as be fit for ſuch employments; and make this a chief reaſon, why they, the preſent Engliſh Benedictin Monks (deſirous to preach to them, that be here in errour, as the Apoſtolick Prieſts of *England* do, and long time have done) doe alter and digreſſe ſo much from S. *Benedicts* rule, as they do in the rule of their late new Congregation.

Ibidem Bened. in præf. Congreg. Anglic. Guliel. Camden. in Brit. in Sommerſerſhire.

Yea, they confeſſe they are ſo ignorant of the firſt coming of Benedictin Monks hither into *England*, that although they know the time of all other Orders coming hither, yet they know not when, or at what time Benedictins firſt came into this kingdom: adding farther, that to their reading, no old Writer of our affairs tels plainly, that ſaint *Auguſtin* was a Benedictin Monk; therefore, as they thus deny it in all authors, they muſt needs ſay, and think, that if it be ſo affirmed in any unperfect copy of *Joannes Diaconus*, of ſaint *Gregories* life; (the publiſher of it joyned to S. *Gregories* Works, confeſſeth it is unperfect) that copy is corrupted; and it is moſt manifeſt in the true

Proteſt. Antiq. ſupra.

Joan. Selden. in Annot. in Eadmerum.

Joan. Diacon. in vita S. Greg. l. 2. c. 33. Offic. Eccleſiaſt. Eccleſiæ Sariſb. in ſancto Auguſtino.

Ioannes Diaconus, that neither S. *Auguſtin* nor S. *Gregory*, nor any of his Monks and Monaſtery, were of Saint *Benedicts* Order: And the ſame *Ioan. Diaconus* directly, and plainly proveth, S. *Gregories* Monks came hither in the beginning of the fourth year of his Papacy: ſo doth our Church of *England* and very many old Writers beſides, do particularly ſet down the time and year of their coming. Therefore I muſt yeeld to S. *Gregory* the honor of being Apoſtle of *England*, without any reference to S. *Benedicts* rule, either in himſelf, or his Apoſtolick diſciples ſent hither by him, all of them being ſtrangers unto it, and every one of them profeſſed Monks of S. *Gregories* Monaſtery, Order, Rule, and Inſtitution, as ſhall be moſt manifeſt hereafter.

The

The Two and Twentieth Chapter.

How after his fathers death, ſo ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of his ample patrimony, he founded many Monaſteries, richly endowing them without any corporal labour, or helps from others; that ſo the Monks might wholly attend to their holy ſtudies, devotions, and other religious good deeds:

THeſe particulars I have written in this place, both for the honor of S. *Gregory*, Apoſtle of this kingdome, and for the glory of it, to have ſuch an Apoſtle, ſo ſoon beginning to deſerve and enjoy that title, in converting thoſe young Engliſh men to Chriſt at *Rome*; and ever after, ſeeking the winning, and reconciling of the reſt here, in theirs then, and now our Countrey of *England*; and in what he could, diſpoſing himſelf, and others under his charge, to be fit and worthy inſtruments to effect it. *Joannes Diaconus*, the Church of *Rome*, and Churches of *England* ſay,

Joan. Diacon. lib. 1. vit. S. Greg. cap. 5. Breviaria Romanum. Sariſburienſe, & Eboracenſe in S. Gregorio.

ſay, that *after his death, when he had free power to diſpoſe of his own things, building ſix Monaſteries in* Sicily, *he filled them with able brethren: to which he gave ſo much revennes, as was ſufficient for the daily maintenance of thoſe that ſhould ſerve God there, without want*; *Tandem Patre orbatus, ubi liberam diſponendi rerum ſuarum nactus eſt facultatem, ſex monaſteria in* Sicilia *fabricans, ſufficientibus fratribus cumulavit; quibus tantum prædiorum contulit, quantum poſſet ad victum quotidianum Deo illic militantium ſine indigentia ſuffragari.*

Here we ſee ſix monaſteries founded in *Sicily*, with brethren or monks placed in them by S. *Gregory* the Founder. And as the building and framing ſo many monaſteries before he founded his Roman monaſtery, (in which he was profeſſed) and his agreement and conſultation with the Biſhop, or Biſhops there, of the rule and order to be obſerved in them, (the Councel of *Chalcedon* approved by *Leo* Pope, and much honoured by S. *Gregory*, decreeing, that no monaſtery might be founded, without the conſent and allowance of the Biſhop of the place) do prove his holy intended Inſtitution, to be much more ancient then any knowledge he could have of S. *Benedicts* rule or his own profeſſion. So his placing ſo many Monks in them out of *Sicily*, and thoſe parts, where then were no Benedictin monaſteries

Concil. Chalcan 4.

naſteries or Monks, doth prove that the Monks he placed in them, could not be of S. *Benedicts* rule or order: which is evident alſo by the revenues aſſigned ſufficient for the Monks there, for their maintenance to ſtudy and ſerve God without corporal or bodily labours: far otherwiſe then in ſaint *Benedicts* inſtitution and rule, which for a great part conſiſteth of ſuch things; and whoſe Monks by ſaint *Benedict* himſelf, are tearmed truly Monks, if they live by labor of their hands; *Tunc vere Monachi ſunt, ſi de labore manuum ſuarum vivunt.*

Farther, theſe Authors, with others, ſet down his founding of his great monaſtery, within the wals of *Rome*, in his own houſe, *ſeptimum intra Romana urbis mœnia in proprio domate fabricavit.* This title onely of being founded within the great City of *Rome*, if there were no other argument, proveth evidently that the ſaid great Monaſtery could not be a Benedictin Monaſtery. S. *Benedict* never founding any monaſtery in City, Town, or Caſtle, as the 20 old *Ciſtertian* Abbots, true Benedictin Monks, with the ſeal and aſſent of Pope *Eugenius*, amply prove in their authentical publick Charter. Nor might, or could any monaſtery of ſaint *Benedict*, which was to keep, and follow his rule, be ſo founded, as appeareth in many chapters thereof, treating of the rural or countrey labours of his Monks for their neceſſary maintenance, &c. More-

S. Benedict. in Regul. cap 48. de opere manuum quotidiano.

Moreover all those Authors witnesse, (as also others) that saint *Gregory* gathered together the Monks of this his monastery; & that both he, & they did live there otherwise then saint *Benedicts* Monks did, after his rule written and allowed; those lived under his rule: saint *Gregories* Monks, and he himself, lived under the Regiment of an Abbot, in regular order; first under the Regiment of *Hilarion*, then under the Regiment of *Maximin*, and he afterwards Abbot there, ruled so also. *Denique desideratum monachicum capiens indumentum, primò sub Hilarionis, deinde Maximini venerabilium patrum regimine, multis sibi societatis fratribus regulari tramite militavit. Post verò cum subesse mallet, fratrum vetiva concordia imminente, præesse non renuit.*

Where it is to be observed, that all Writers do, and must needs distinguish these two kinds of governments, or obediences; to wit, of being under an Abbot, and being under a Rule; and must allow them to be two distinct forms of government, differing from one another. So saint *Benedict* himself in the beginning of his rule, distinguisheth monastical government, and obedience. *Monachorum quatuor genera esse manifestum est. Primum Cœnobitarum, hoc est monasteriale militans sub Regula, vel Abbate.* The old Ecclesiastical Offices of *England* remembred

S. Benedict. in Regula cap. 1. Officium Eccleſiaſt. Eccleſ. Sarum in S. Greg. Eccl. Eboracen. in eodem.

bred by *Joannes Diaconus*, testifie as much; that of *Sarum* saith, saint *Gregory* lived under the government of an Abbot, *sub Abbatis regimine militavit*. That of *York* is most plain, *sub Abbatis Regula militavit*. The Roman office more late in this matter of saint *Gregory* (and taken chiefly out of *Joannes Diaconus*, *potissimum ex Joanne Diacono*) readeth, that S. *Gregory* was a monk in his own Roman monastery; and that *Hilarion* and *Maximin*, were his masters, and himself afterwards Abbot in the same; *ubi Hilarione & Maximino Magistris, Monachi vitam professus, postea Abbas fuit*.

Breviar. Roman. in eodem ante correctio, & post.

And although saint *Benedict* did write a rule, which saint *Gregory* approved, yet we do not read that either he, his chiefest and first monks, saint *Placidus*, saint *Maurus*, or other Abbots, or the monks under them, are said either in publick or private ancient writers, to have been monks of that rule, till it was approved by saint *Gregory*, which was after the sending of saint *Augustin*, and his associate monks of his monastery hither, in the beginning of the fourth year of his Papacy. *Mox ubi Ecclesiæ statu composito quartum sui Pontificatus annum intravit, Augustinum cum aliis domus suæ Monasterii Monachis in Britanniam, evangelizandi gratiâ destinavit*, as *John Diaconus*, with some others, doth recount the time.

Joan. Diacon. l. 2. vit. S. Greg. cap. 33.

We do not finde in Antiquities, that in the

the life of S. *Benedict*, the Monks of any of his monasteries, are named Monks of saint *Benedicts* rule, but disciples of saint *Benedict*, Monks living under his government, Monks of his monasteries, Monks of his discipline, or the like. Nor do I finde his rule then, but only in two places; one copy at *Cassinum*, where he lived, and died; afterwards in the year 596, and not before, carried to *Rome*. The other copy, (as the *Breviary* of the Church of *York* testifieth, in the Feast of saint *Maurus* disciple to saint *Benedict*, and by him sent into *France*) was given unto saint *Maurus* by saint *Benedict* at their parting, in the same year that saint *Benedict* died: yet neither at *Cassinum*, nor at saint *Maurus* his monastery, were the Monks called Monks of saint *Benedicts* rule, either under him, or his successors there, but Monks of *Cassinum*, and of saint *Benedicts* monastery, as the Monks of saint *Gregories* monastery were named thereof Monks of saint *Gregories* monastery, and the Monks of saint *Maurus*, Monks of S. *Maurus* his monastery, of, and under the discipline of saint *Maurus*, *sub disciplina S. Mauri*. As they also of S. *Placidus*, his monastery, were named and accounted, he being the prime disciple of saint *Benedict*; and therefore the Roman Church in the correction of the Breviary thereof, in the life of saint *Placidus*, hath blotted out: *Ubi*

Breviarium Eboracen. in festo S. Maur.

Breviar. Rom. in vit. S. Maur. Faustus in vita S. Mau. Brev. Anglic. in eod.

Breviar. Rom. in S. Placido ante correctionem.

cum

cum 30 fratres aggregasset, sub Patris Benedicti Regulâ: where when he had gathered 30 brethren under the rule of his Father Benedict; and now put in place thereof, *ubi cum Monachis admirabili sanctitate vixit:* where he lived with his Monks in admirable sanctity; they were his Monks, and he their Abbot. Breviar. Rom. ibid. post correctionem.

Yea, S. *Gregory* himself the first Approver of saint *Benedicts* rule to be received any where, for a monastical rule; and before he did approve it, writeth thus, both of S. *Benedict*, and his chief four disciples of his acquaintance, of whom he learned any thing of S. *Benedict*, a stranger unto him, though living in his time. *Constantin a most reverend man who succeeded him in the regiment of his monastery.* Valentinian *also, who many years ruled the monastery of* Lateran; Simplicius *the third, that ruled his congregation after him.* Honoratus *also, who now ruleth his Cell, in which he first conversed: Pauca qua narro, quatuor discipulis illius referentibus, Constantino scilicet reverendissimo viro, qui ei in Monasterii regimine successit. Valentiniano quoque, qui annis multis Lateranensi Monasterio prafuit; Simplicio, qui congregationem illius post eum, tertius rexit; Honorato etiam, qui nunc adhuc Cellæ ejus in qua prius conversatus fuerat præest.* Here both saint *Benedict* himself, and his prime disciples after him, ruled their Congregations, as saint *Gregory* relateth, who best knew. S. Greg. lib. 1. dial. in initio.

And

And he setteth down saint *Benedicts* writing his rule, in the latter end of his life, and relateth it as a thing unknown in *Rome*, even to the most learned, as to *Peter* his Deacon; who knew most of saint *Gregories* proceedings, and was most familiar unto him from his youth, as he thus witnesseth of him. *Dilectissimus filius meus Petrus Diaconus, qui mihi à primævo Juventutis flore in amicitiis familiariter obstrictus est, atque ad sacri verbi indagationem socius.* Whereunto I add the testimony of *Joannes Diaconus*, who placeth this *Peter* among the most learned Clergy men, most wise Counsellors, and familiars, that saint *Gregory* had, and *coætaneum suum*, one of his own age. And yet saint *Gregory* in his Dialogues with this learned *Peter*, then living with him, writeth for a thing strange, and unknown to him, that saint *Benedict* did write a rule for Monks: *Hoc nolo te lateat, quod vir Dei Benedictus scripsit Monachorum Regulam*; which *Peter* his Deacon, could not have been ignorant of, if saint *Gregory* or his Monks and Monastery, or any other then in *Rome*, had or could have been of saint *Benedicts* rule.

Greg. lib. 1. dial. in initio.

Joan. Diacon. l. 2. vit. S. Greg. cap. 11.

By this it is manifest, that *Valentinian* of whom S. *Gregory* had made mention for one of saint *Benedicts* disciples before, in the beginning of his second Book of those Dialogues, with this *Peter* his Deacon, as ruling

ling a monaſtery at *Lateran* in *Rome*; as he could not, ſo did not there keep the written rule of ſaint *Benedict*: Otherwiſe ſaint *Gregory* had known before of that rule, and *Petrus* his Deacon there, could not have been ignorant of it; but muſt needs have known it before ſaint *Gregories* after telling him of it. How they lived there, I ſhall deliver more at large hereafter. Here it ſhall ſuffice with good Authors; to ſay they lived there as Quiriſters, or Singing men to the Canon Regulars of ſaint *Auguſtin*, placed there by Pope *Gelaſius*, as both Catholick and Proteſtant Authors do teſtifie. *Pope* Gelaſius *the firſt, about the year 493. placed the regular Canons of Saint* Auguſtin *at* Lateran. *And as for the Church of S.* Lateran, *Pope* Gelaſius *an African born, and diſciple to S.* Auguſtin, *after the death of his maſter, came to* Rome, *and ſtayed in this Church with his companions, where they lived according to the rule, given by this holy Doctor, which was continued by them that followed after, for the ſpace of eight hundred years.*

Greg. ſup. li. 2. dial.

Author libri Archonto. log. *Edward Grimſtons Book of Eſtates in Religious orders.* Onufrius Pa. ibid. cit.

Thus theſe Authors both Catholick and Proteſtant, doe witneſs unto us; and therefore although this *Valentinian*, and the Monks under him, came to *Rome* long after ſaint *Gregories* monaſteries and rule thereof founded; yet they neither did, nor could live there abſolutely and truly, according to ſaint

ſaint *Benedicts* rule, as it was compoſed by him, and approved by ſaint *Gregory*; in which ſenſe the preſent queſtion is at this time: for ſo it is truly, properly, and generally named, and to be taken, and is received for a general approved rule, and no otherwiſe in true and plain conſtruction. And in this true ſenſe and meaning, this rule neither was, nor could be truly and perfectly obſerved, (as ſuch rules ought to be) in the *Lateran* monaſtery, or in any other in *Rome*; for neither by the rule of ſaint *Benedict* in many Chapters, nor by the higheſt papal teſtimony, & twenty true Benedictin Abbots, might or could any Monks of that rule, (if it had been then confirmed) live, and keep it, either in *Rome*, in *Italy*, *Wincheſter*, in *England*, or any City or Town whereſoever.

This is ſufficiently proved both by *Joannes Diaconus*, and others, that neither S. *Gregory*, nor thoſe his diſciples and monks, he ſent into *England*, ſeating themſelves in our ancient and then great regal City of *Canterbury*, were or could be of ſaint *Benedicts* rules or order, either as it was written by him, and after approved, or as he monaſtically ruled as Abbot, before the writing and approving of his rule. For ſuch manner of ruling or governing, is alſo truly a monaſtical rule and government; (though not in ſuch ſenſe and meaning, as we now entreat

of

of saint *Benedicts* written and approved rule.) And saint *Gregory* himself, who was first thus ruled, and afterwards so ruled others in his own monastery; and after that approved both his own, and saint *Benedicts* rule, doth name that his manner of life and monastical government, his rule; long before his said rule was written; when in his fourth book of Dialogues, speaking of *Speciosus*, and *Gregorius*, he saith, they gave themselves to his rule; and he placed them in his monastery by *Terracinum*, founded long before his rule was written: *Duo Nobiles viri, quorum unus Speciosus, alter Gregorius dicebatur, vitam se Regulæ in sancta conversatione tradiderunt: Quos idem Pater venerabilis in monasterio, quod juxta Terracenensem urbem construxerat, fecit habitare.* Gregor. l. 4. dial. cap. 8.

He hath told us before, that S. *Benedicts* disciples, *Constantine*, *Simplicius*, and *Honoratus*, thus ruled S. *Benedicts* Congregation at *Cassinum*, and Cell at *Sublacus*, before S. *Gregory* confirmed his rule; so to make it an approved rule. There also he maketh *Honoratus* thus to govern at *Sublacus*, after S. *Gregory* was Pope, and had began to write the life of S. *Benedict*: *Honoratus etiam, qui nunc adhuc Cellæ ejus, in qua prius conversatus fuerat præest.* And both in the end of S. *Benedicts* life, and in his Dialogues, and privilege of *Sublacus*, Greg. l. 2. dial. in initio.

Greg. l. 2. dial. cap. 22.

Greg. l. 2. dial. in fine.

setteth down his first knowledge, reading, and approving afterwards of S. *Benedicts* rule. Thus he delivereth the Monastery, Cell, and Congregation of S. *Benedict*, to have been ruled by the Abbots, ruling in them, by the accustomed unwritten rule of those places.

Greg. lib. 4. dial. cap. 21.

And where he writeth of the government of his own monastery, by the Abbot thereof, he maketh the rule different, from either written or unwritten rule of S. *Benedict*, or any other man or monastery, but his own, even by the constitution and grant of the contenders for Benedictins. *Vir venerabilis Valentius, qui post in hac Roma urbe mihi, sicut nosti, meoque Monasterio prefuit, prius in valeria Provincia suum Monasterium rexit.* Valentius *of venerable life, who afterward ruled me and my Monastery in this Roman City, did first rule his own Monastery in the Province of* Valeria; which those men thus construe and interpret: *Suum, inquit, Monasterium rexit, ac proinde jure Abbatis ac alterius regimine absoluti, & independentis, aliàs non dixisset, Monasterium suum tenuisse, sed Monasterium sub tali e Abbate rexisse.* He saith, *he ruled his own Monastery, and therefore by the right of an Abbot absolute, and independing of the government of another, otherwise he would not have said, that he ruled his own Monastery, but ruled a Monastery*

naſtery under ſuch an Abbot.

Therefore being we ſee by the teſtimonies of S. *Gregory*, S. *Benedict*, the Church of *England*, *Sarum*, and *York*, (neither the Church of *Rome*, nor any old Writer contradicting it; but all conſenting) that S. *Gregories*-Monaſtery in *Rome*, was differently and independently ruled and governed from S. *Benedicts* rule and order, or any other but the rule and regiment of S. *Gregory*, and his firſt Abbots there; we muſt needs grant an other rule and order to that monaſtery: And both the Church of *England*, and others, giving to S. *Benedict* the honour of being a guide and maſter in monaſtical life; and this either ſingularly or chiefly, for writing his rule, which was not till long time after known to S. *Gregory*, nor approved in time of his Papacy till many years after the being of S. *Gregories* rule, and order, inſtituted in his monaſtery, (*inter plurima ſuperni muneris chariſmata Monachorum Regulam ſermone inculento, & diſcretione præcipua conſcripſit*: which S. *Gregory* alſo writeth of all rules;) we muſt neds ſay, that the rule and order of S. *Gregories* Monaſtery, could not probably, nor indeed poſſibly be S. *Benedicts* written rule, which was no rule either to himſelf, or to any that lived in time or place with him, or after him, till it was written and known.

Officium Sarisb. Eccl. in ſancto Benedicto 5. Id. Julii. Greg. l. 2. dial. prope finem.

The three and Twentieth Chapter.

Wherein is proved expresly by all kind of Antiquaries, old and late, Catholick and Protestant, that S. Gregory *gave the rule of his Roman monastery.*

Joan. Diac. l. 2. vit. S. Greg. cap. 46.

BUT it is clear and manifest, by all sorts of Antiquaries, *Joannes Diaconus*, and others, old and late, Catholick and Protestant, that S. *Gregory* did give the rule and mandate to his greatest monastery in *Rome*; how the Monks were to live there in community without propriety, which maketh a monastery and Monks, by all interpretations of their name and nature, and all judgements agree thereunto. And *Joannes Diaconus* himself, maketh this one of the things famous, and knowne in all the world; and bringeth divers Authors for this, ancient, famous, and renowned, as *Peter*, a reverend Priest in *Rome*, living in S. *Gregories* time; the old Author of the Book called *Pratum spirituale*, whom we call

call Joannes *Moschus*, living also in S. *Gregories* days, and his own master, so writing, and testifying. *Ex libro, qui à Græcis λειμὼν à Latinis vero intelligitur Campus, vel pratum, Præceptor meus inter alia toto orbe jam diffamata miracula interpretatus est, mihi scribens: enarravit nobis Presbyter nomine Petrus de S.* Gregorio *papa Romano, illinc enim erat, Reverendissimus hic Presbyter. Is inquis effectus Papa ædificavit Monasterium virorum magnum, & dedit mandatum, ut nullus Monachorum proprium aliquid haberet usque ad nnum obulum*: where afterwards he calleth this mandate given by S. *Gregory* in expreſs tearms, *Regulam monasterii*, the rule of that his monastery in *Rome*.

And S. *Gregory*, himself, who best knew what was, and who gave the rule of his monastery, doth most plainly affirm, that this was always the rule of his monastery. That the brethren should live in community, and have nothing proper to themselves; *Ejusdem mei monasterii semper Regula fuerat, ut cuncti fratres ita communiter viverent, quatenus eis singulis nulla habere propria liceret.* But yet to give certain knowledge unto us, that the rule of this his monastery differed herein from others; and that he so constituted and ordained this his rule, that the brethren might keep mean and small things to themselves, without offence S. Greg l. 4. dial. c. 55.

unto, or breach of his rule, as he instituted it, and interpreted it; all the brethren did *de facto*, keep to themselves such mean things, with allowance, and approbation of S. *Gregories* rule; without any breach thereof, or offence against it. *Fratres omnes conturbati caperunt singuli, extrema quæque & vilia, & quæ eis habere regulariter semper liverat, in medium proferre.*

Greg. supra. Joan. Diacon. l. 41. vit. S. Greg ca. 15.

By which it is evident, that this rule of S. *Gregory* and his monastery, did herein differ from other rules, not allowing any such small things in proper, either to all, or any monks of their rule and order as to exemplifie in the rule of S. *Benedict*, it did not allow any such thing in proper to all, or to any Monk thereof, but utterly forbiddeth it as a vice against their rule, to have in proper any the least thing at all, *nullam omninò rem*, not a Book, not an Ink-horn, or any thing at all; and to doe otherwise, is declared in his rule to be a most wicked vice, and the transgressor subject to correction. *Præcipue hoc vitium radicitùs amputetur de Monasterio, nequis præsumat aliquid dare, aut accipere, sine jussione Abbatis; neque aliquid habere proprium: nullam omninò rem, neque codicem, neque graphium, sed nihil omninò: quippe quibus nec corpora sua, nec voluntates licet habere in propria potestate: Omnia verò necessaria à Patre monasterii sperare; nec quicquam licere*

S. Benedict. in Regul. c. 34.

habere

habere, quod Abbas non dederit, aut permiserit. Omniaque omnibus sint communia, ut scriptum est; nec quisquam suum esse aliquid dicat, vel præsumat. Quod si quisquam huic nequissimo vitio deprehensus fuerit delectari, admoneatur semel & iterum; si non emendaverit, correctioni subjaceat.

By this order of saint *Benedicts* rule of community, if saint *Gregory* had been thereof, both he, and all the best, and chiefest Monks of his Monastery, had been great offendors and transgressors against it. For he being yet a Monk, and in the inward part of his monastery, (not accessible unto by women, according to saint *Benedicts* rule, which also as you have heard, strictly forbad his monks to receive any thing at all from any person but the Abbot;) did ordinarily receive and take hearbs and food from his mother *Sylvia*; both Monks and Abbot knowing it, and no man at any time disliking or disallowing it; and was much fed by her *Joannes Diaconus*, with others so witnessing: *In hujus sacri Monasterii penetralibus, idem vir Omnipotentis Dei Gregorius, a matre Sylvia tunc temporis juxta portam Beati Pauli Apostoli crudis leguminibus pascebatur.* And in that great, or greatest monastery of S. *Gregory*, (as *Petar* the Roman Priest, and *Joannes Moschus* call it, living in S. *Gregories* time,) wherein all were Students, and so many learned men, that

Joan. Diac. l. 1. vita S. Greg. cap. 9.

Saint *Gregory* ſent thence about 40 ſuch into *England*; it would have been a ſtrange thing, that not one of them might take a Book, an Ink-horn, or ſuch a neceſſary thing from any man, but the Abbot; not able to attend to all ſuch things in ſuch a number and multitude of Monks and Students; queſtionleſſe they might as well, and lawfully receive thoſe, and ſuch like neceſſaries, as S. *Gregory* did his food from his mother, all thoſe things tending unto, and ſerving the needs of the monks and monaſtery there.

Joan. Diac. l. 1. vita S. Greg. c. 26.

Saint *Gregory* was ſent by Pope *Pelagius* to *Conſtantinople*, (as *Joannes Diaconus*, and others relate) though he lived there in a Palace, yet continuing ſtill addicted to his heavenly courſe of life, and deſiring monaſtical company, as having power over his own Monks and monaſtery, had many come thither to him out of that his own, and not out of any other monaſtery or order. *Proſponſis Eccleſiaſticis ad urbẽ Conſtantinopolis a Pelagio Præſule deſtinatur, ubi quamvis in terreno converſaretur Palatio, vitæ cæleſtis non intermiſit propoſitum, ſecuti namque ſunt eum multi ex ſuo monaſterio fratres, Germana devincti charitate.* What man, not yet come to higher authority, had or could have ſuch power over that monaſtery, and the monks thereof; but the rule-giver, interpreter, and immediate commander over them.

When

When again hee was Pope, and took Monks, and moſt prudent Prieſts to be his Councellors, and to live familiarly with him; (*Clericos ſibi prudentiſſimos Conſiliarios familiaréſque elegit,*) as they did, together in his Palace and Epiſcopal Church; (Pope *Eugenius*, and the twenty Benedictin Abbots have publickly before profeſſed, that Benedictin Monks might not live ſo) hee made choice of his own Monks out of his own monaſtery, under his own rule and command, as moſt learned, holy, and obedient unto him. *Monachorum vero ſanctiſſimos ſibi familiares elegit: inter quos Maximianum Monaſterii ſui Abbatem, Auguſtinum ejuſdem Monaſterii ſui Præpoſitum, & mellitum, per quos Anglorum gentem ad Chriſtianiſmi gratiam convocavit, Marinianum ejuſdem Monaſterii ſui Monachum, quem in Ravennati Metropoli Epiſcopum conſecravit:* and all theſe the bleſſed Popes moſt learned Prieſts, and moſt religious Monks, under the higheſt rule, and ruler S. *Gregory* Pope, lived in Apoſtolick common life, as was uſed formerly under the Apoſtles, and under S. *Mark*, the Evangeliſt at *Alexandria*; and this by Saint *Gregories* Order, Direction, and Inſtitution. *Cum quibus Gregorius die noctuque verſatus, nihil monaſticæ perfectionis in Palatio, nihil Pontificalis Inſtitutionis in Eccleſia dereliquit videbantur paſſim cum eruditiſſi-*

Joan. Diacon. ſup. cap. 11.

Cap. 12.

ditissimis Clericis adhærere Pontifici religiosissimi monachi, & in diversis professionibus habebatur vita communis: ita ut talis esset tunc sub Gregorio penes urbem Romanam Ecclesia, qualem hanc fuisse sub Apostolis Lucas, & sub Marco Evangelista penes Alexandriam, Philo commemorat. And he ordained afterwards, that our Bishops here in *England*, should so live with their Priests, and such Monks, as he sent hither from his monastery.

Greg. respon. ad interrogat. S. Augustini Bed. Histor. Mat. Westm. Chron. Capgravius in S. Augustino.

And to make it most manifest unto us, that his Monks were under his rule, and command, (and not of any Benedictin or other rule, wherein the Monks were to chuse their Abbot,) he did not only make S. *Augustin*, (who was only a *Præpositus* before,) their Abbot; but gave him absolute Abbatical and Monasterial power over them independing of any other rule; and gave command to them humbly to obey him in all things, whatsoever he should direct. Thus he decreed, and wrote in an Epistle to them, as not only *Joannes Diaconus* setting it down at large, but S. *Bede* also and others, and S. *Gregory* himself he witnesses. *Remeanti autem Augustino Præposito vestro, quem & Abbatem vobis constituimus, in omnibus humiliter obedite: scientes hoc vestris animabus per omnia profuturum, quicquid à vobis fuerit in ejus admonitione completum.*

Greg. Epist. ad Monachos in Anglicam euntes. Bed. Histor. Ecclesias. in S. Augustino. Joan. Diac l. 2. vita S. Gregor. c. 34. Capgra. in S. Augustin.

If

If S. *Augustin* had been of S. *Benedict's* rule, or any other, but his own; and if the monastery wherein he was monastically instructed, professed, and made perfect in the rule thereof, (as S. *Gregory* wrote to King *Ethelbert*, *Augustinus monasterii regula doctus*) had been of S. *Benedicts* order, Saint *Gregory* making him Abbot, neither would, nor could have given him power to change S. *Benedicts* rule, which was confirmed by S. *Gregory* not to be changed; where, and for which places he did allow and approve it. So may we say of other approved rules; onely his own rule was most in his power to be altered by him, as times, places, and persons different, required. And by this power given to S. *Augustin* by S. *Gregory*, our first monastery here of that foundation, and rule is, and ever was called S. *Augustins* in *Canterbury*, as S. *Gregories*, S. *Augustins*, the Doctor, S. *Martins*, S. *Brendans*, S. *Columbas*, S. *Columbanus*, S. *Kentigerns*, S. *Davids*, S. *Benedicts*, and others, are named from their rule-givers, and from the Laws given them by those their Institutors.

For both *Cœnobium*, and *Monasterium Cœnoby*, and *Monastery*, is by the Etimology out of the Greek, and definition both of *Cassianus*, and *Isodore*, with all true Writers, a place of mansion, where (not one alone, for one cannot be said to live in commu-

community, but) many Monks, and religious men live, in religious rule of community, without propriety: And it is called the Cœnoby, or Monastery of the rule-giver, or allower unto it. And, as among all monasteries to my reading, in the Latine Church, none is more frequently and usually called the monastery of the rule-giver or allower, then S. *Gregories* Monastery in *Rome*, (both by himself and all Writers of it, even those of *England*, and ancient Benedictin Monks themselves) is named, and only called by the name of S. *Gregories* monastery, and appropriat to him: so by our old Benedictin Monks and others, S. *Gregory* being (in the year of Christ 558, when he entred into Religion) renowned for knowledge, wisdom, learning, and sanctity; would not make choice of any to be Abbot of a Monastery founded by himself, and wherein he was to live under that Abbot and his rule; but he would first know what rule and government, that Abbot would use, under whom he was to live. No man of wisdom and vertue, would tie himself to obedience, and such abrenunciation of the world, as S. *Gregory* used, but hee would first know that rule and order. In S. *Benedicts* rule then not known, every poor and unlearned Monk heard the rule read thrice unto him, to know how he liked or allowed it, before he was admitted into the

Sigeber. Chro. anno 558. Mat. Westm. an. 558. Florent. Wigorn. Chro. Marian. Scot.

Regul. S. Benedicti, cap. 58.

the monastery to tie himself to the said Rule.

Wherefore since S. *Gregory* was so renowned a man, and so grateful to the Popes, that were in *Rome*, to procure their allowance of his founding a monastery with the rule thereof, yea to choose his Abbot, Monks, and Rule; with whom, and under which, he would, and did live; and being afterwards himself both Abbot, and Pope there, to give it the highest, and greatest allowance and approbation; (where no man could do this without his liking, and assent, we may with all reason, and must needs truly call that rule and monastery, the rule and monastery of S. *Gregory*. And therefore (as we have heard before) it was accounted, and taken by *Peter* the Priest of *Rome*, most learned in that time; by *Ioannes Moschus*, a renowned Writer then living; by the Master of *Ioannes Diaconus*, and *Ioannes Diaconus* himself, that it was famously known in all the world, that S. *Gregory* gave (*dedit*) the rule to this his monastery. And S. *Gregory* himself hath plainly testified, that this rule of his monastery, was always the rule there; *Ejusdem loci Monasterii semper regula fuit*. From the first being of it a monastery, where you may note, that what these men have named the rule of S. *Gregories* monastery in the singular number, given by Saint *Gregory*: *Petrus* the aforesaid old learned

Priest

Priest of *Rome*, and *Ioannes Moschus*, name *Monasterii Regula*, the rules of S. *Gregories* monastery given by him.

Petrus Roman. Presbyt. & Joan. Moschus Prato spirit. cap. 192.

And Pope *Honorius*, living in S. *Gregories* time, and Pope soon after him; well knowing S. *Gregory* his monastery, and rule thereof, both in his life time, and after; saith plainly, that S. *Gregory* had a particular monastical rule; and that the Monks, he sent into *England*, namely, *Honorius* (afterward Archbishop of *Canterbury*) did follow the rule of S. *Gregory* their Master, and head. *Sollantemque Magistri & Capitis sui Gregorii sancti regulam.* S. *Bede*, also so writeth; so testifieth *Henry Huntington*; so the old writer of S. *Honorius* his life; so *Capgrave* with others; and these two last plainly affirm, *Liquidò patet hunc Beatum Honorium, Gregoriana Institutionis Discipulum; hoc est, Apostolica vita, & perfectionis dignum fuisse æmulum.* *It is clearly evident, that S.* Honorius *was a disciple of S.* Gregories *Institution, a worthy follower of Apostolick life, and perfection.* Whence it is made evident to all, that S. *Gregory* had a particular order, and Institution; and that it was an Apostolick life and perfection. And so both he, and the Idisciples, he sent into *England*, with the rest, were professors of that, his most holy, and learned Institution, Apostolick life, and perfection.

Honorius Papa Epist. ad Honorium Archep. Cantuarien. Bed. Hist. l. 2. c. 18. Henric. Hunt. Hist. Manus. Antiq. in vit. S. Honorii Archep. Cant. Joan. Capgr. in eodem.

This

This was ever the received opinion and tradition in *England* by these Antiquaries: and all English men living in the English Church, must needs take notice, it was so, that S. *Gregory* had a particular institute and order of his own choice, and election, in his Roman monastery, where he, and his monks sent into *England*, were professed: For so teacheth the old publick Church-office, and service therof, in the life of S. *Gregory* our Apostle; where speaking of his founding his six monasteries in *Sicily*, he addeth of that, he founded in *Rome. Septimum verò intra urbis Romanæ muros instituit, in quo & ipse postmodùm regularis tramite, (multis sibi sociatis fratribus) sub Abbatis imperio militavit.* He instituted his seventh Monastery, within the wals of the City of Rome; in which, (having gathered together many Brethren) he himself lived afterwards in regular manner, under the command of the Abbot. Thus our publick Church-service, according to the use of *Sarum*; to which the other of *York* thus agreeth: *Septimum verò intra Romanæ urbis mœnia instituit, in quo Ipse Monachicum capiens indumentum, sub Abbatis Regula militavit.* He constituted, or set in order his seventh Monastery, within the wals of the Roman City. In which he receiving Monastical habit, lived under the rule of his Abbot. Here by the best authority the Church of *England* hath, we see that con-

Breviar. Eccl. Sarisburiens. in S. Gregor.

Brevil. ejusdem Eboracensis Eccl. in Gregorio.

confirmed, which ſo many writers of renown, and Popes before, have witneſſed of S. *Gregories* rule and order ſo called by them, as alſo S. *Gregories* inſtitution, Apoſtolick life, and perfection: *Gregoriana Inſtitutio, Apoſtolica vita, & perfectio.*

Late writers alſo approved both by Catholick and Proteſtant authority, do ſo witneſs the ſame, and deliver it for undoubted truth. *Franciſcus Modius*, a learned Friar Minorite, not only with the allowance, and approbation of his own holy order; but by the Jeſuits alſo (who allowing thereof in their *Gualterius*, publiſhing it in his *Chronicon Chronicorum*, with much applauſe, muſt ſo hold againſt the Benedictins, for the rule of S. *Benedict*; and againſt *Baronius* for S. *Equitius*) in his Book (which they call, *liber ſingularis*) of the original of religious orders: thus, among the other orders, he ſetteth down and deſcribeth Saint *Gregories* for a proper diſtinct, & particular holy order: *Gregorianus Ordo à Gregorio magno, Pontifice maximo inſtitutus anno 595. veſtem gerit cæruleam, ſive Betici coloris: Cui ad pectus crux rubea intexitur, & alia barbam. The Gregorian order, inſtituted by S. Gregory the great, the chiefeſt Biſhop in the year 595, weareth a harts colour habit, or of a Beers colour, to which on the breaſt, a red croſſe is enwoven, and weareth the beard long.* And *Joannes Diaconus* in the life

Franciſcus Modius lib. de origine & progreſſu ordinum in Gregorianis.

life of S. *Gregory*, from old pictures and monuments, in his Roman monastery, describeth the Monastical habit of S. *Gregory*, and his Monks by him, in like manner far different from the habit of Benedictins at any time; or in any place, as from all other orders.

The contenders for Benedictins, to make S. *Gregory*, S. *Augustin*, and his associats, sent by S. *Gregory* into *England*, to be of S. *Benedicts* order; have much therein relied upon the testimony of protestants, no good friends to holy, learned, religious men and orders; but their testimony is of no worth, because they manifestly contradict themselves herein; for affirming them to have been Benedictin Monks, they acknowledge and profess to know the time & year, when these came into *England*; and on the other side, they plainly confess and write, they know not the time of *Benedictines* coming hither. Yea, one of them doth plainly confess, that to his reading, no ancient Writer of our affairs, doth plainly say, saint *Augustin* was a Benedictin Monk in any place. *Fateor apud veteres rerum nostrarum consartianatores, minimè disertis, (si bene memini) verbis alicubi doceri, Augustinum ex Sodalitio fuisse Benedictino.*

Protestant. Antiquarii in Apostol. pag. 102.

Jo. Seld. not. in Eadmerum pag. 215.

And they all confess, that this question of the order of S. *Gregory*, and S. *Augustine*,

and his associats, (whom S. *Gregory* sent into *England*, to preach the Gospel,) is risen but in this our age. *Hac nostra ætate exorta est controversia, de Monachatu Gregorii magni, & Augustini Cantuariensis, & sociorum ejus, quos Gregorius in Anglicam de suo Monasterio, prædicandi Evangelii causa, destinasse legitur. Quibusdam ipsos ordini Benedictino addicentibus, quibusdam verò id acriter pernegantibus, & Ipsos ordini S. Equitii, sive alicui alii ascribentibus:* Therefore acknowledging this controversie to have risen but in this age, and no ancient Writer plainly saying, they were Benedictin Monks; but all others, and themselves, acknowledging they came from saint *Gregories* monastery; and that (as *Joannes Diaconus*, and others prove) in the beginning of the fourth year of S. *Gregories* Papacy, which was before S. *Benedicts* rule was approved by S. *Gregory*, or came to *Rome*; and these Protestant writers confessing, they knew not when S. *Benedicts* order came into *England*; they must needs acknowledge these to have been no Benedictin Monks, (as they truly say they were not of S. *Equitius* his order,) but only (as so many old, and later writers have plainly, and (*disertis verbis*) proved) of saint *Gregories* order.

Protestant. 4. Antiquarii sup.

By this acknowledgement, that no ancient

ent writer affirmeth S. *Augustin* to have been a Benedictin Monk, in any place to their memory, or reading, I may well say, that their judgement and testimony, is little to be regarded in this, and such matters for want of memory, reading, and knowledge in things concerning *Britain* & *England*, wherein they glory most; though the contenders for Benedictins, have chosen them for their greatest witnesses & Judges: or else they must needs hold and affirm, that *Joannes Diaconus*, who wrote S. *Gregories* life in 4 Books, is in some Copies corrupted; as in that, printed at *Antwerp* in the year of Christ 1572, and fixed before the words of S. *Gregory*: for of all men, he hath written the most of S. *Gregory* our Apostle. And so none of them can be truly said, to have read so much of matters concerning *Britain*, as they write of themselves. *Qui multum temporis in rebus vetustis tum civilibus, tum sacris, atque iis inprimis, quæ ad Britanniam nostram, potissimum spectant, impendimus.* Nor can they be chosen for the best, and fittest Judges in the case of S. *Gregory* who had never read, the chiefest writer of his life; and out of whom, the Roman Church hath published the life of saint *Gregory*, in the Church-service of him, as it was anciently testified in the Roman Breviary, saying, *potissimum ex Joanne Diacono*: For

Breviar. Rom. in vita S. Gregorii.

in this Copy of *Joannes Diaconus*, it is (*diſertis verbis*) plainly ſaid, that both *S. Auguſtin*, and his Aſſociats, ſent with him into *England* by ſaint *Gregory*, and ſaint *Gregory* himſelf, were Benedictin Monks. *Venerabilis Doctor Gregorius ſui monaſterii monachos, Benedicti utique regulis. Mancipatos in Saxoniam deſtinarit*; and, *Quod Monachi qui à Gregorio in Saxoniam miſſi ſunt, S. Benedicti Regula fuerint mancipati*, as in that Copy I have remembred in the fourth Book, and ſeventy, and ſeventy two Chapters.

But if we will ſave theſe mens credit from ſo great ignorance, and groſſe contradiction, we muſt needs preſume that they thought this was a corruption, and late inſertion of ſome ignorant, or malicious minde into that Copy of *Joannes Diaconus*; for there is plainly affirmed, as I ſaid before, that ſaint *Gregories* Miſſioners hither were Benedictin Monks; and that the certain time of ſuch Monks coming hither, was when ſaint *Auguſtin* came: Both which things were not found in Antiquities by theſe Proteſtant Antiquaries. And it is manifeſt before out of the true *Joannes Diaconus*, that theſe Monks were profeſſed many years before any rule of ſaint *Benedict* was approved by ſaint *Gregory*, or known in *Rome*; and ſo could not be of his rule. Of which, indeed

no

no man could bee as long as it was unknown.

And this Authour, whosoever he was, that inserted it into *Ioannes Diaconus*, contradicteth him herein, whilest he saith, that the Monks of S. *Gregories* monastery were of S. *Benedicts* rule, *Sui*, (*S.* Gregorii) *monasterii monachos, Benedicti utique Regulis mancipatos*, for so they should have been of saint *Benedicts*, and not of saint *Gregories* monastery, as is evident by what is said before. And *Ioannes Diaconus*, with many others, have most plainly proved, they were of S. *Gregories* rule; and that he gave the rule to this monastery, and he shall farther prove it hereafter in many things quite different from saint *Benedicts* rule. Yea, whosoever inserted that, to this copy of *Ioannes Diaconus*, writeth very ignorantly; and contradicteth not only *Ioannes Diaconus*, and others before, but himself also; for he setteth down the habit of S. *Gregory* quite different from S. *Benedicts*, his *pallium*, and other things *Ioannes Diaconus* writeth of this, in his second Book: this man inserted it in his fourth Book. This man would make saint *Gregory* of saint *Benedicts* rule, and order, because the *Balthea* of them both were narrow: which is an argument of no force, for so were also the *Balthea* of many orders: He saith, that saint

Gregories monaſtery had received in his time *Gracitatem*, a Greek rule; when *Ioannes Diaconus* writeth otherwiſe in his time. He maketh all rules either Greek, or S. *Benedicts*; he maketh ſaint *Gregory* altogether ignorant of the Greek; he ignorantly maketh all, or almoſt all Monks here, Benedictins: He calleth *England* then, only *Saxonia*, divers times, and all this in a very few lines. Whereas the true *Ioannes*, in the next chapter to theſe inſertions, writeth the quite contrary unto them, directly proving ſaint *Gregories* rule quite different from ſaint *Benedicts* in habit, and otherwiſe.

But to return to our Proteſtant Antiquaries again in this queſtion; the later, and preſent of that profeſſion, both of *England* and *Scotland*, in their allowance of the opinion, and teſtimony of their great preaching Miniſter of *Streveling* in *Scotland*, in his Hiſtory now thrice printed and approved, (the laſt Edition in *London* this preſent year 1634.) do with him plainly witneſs, and prove, that ſaint *Gregory* was not of ſaint *Benedicts* rule, or any other, but of his own proper and peculiar rule; and that all his diſciples and Monks ſent by him into *England*, out of his monaſtery, were of the ſame, in theſe moſt manifeſt words. *Pope Gregory the firſt, born of a Noble ſtock, and*

Patrick Symſons Hiſt. of the Church edita 1634. London. Cent. 13 pag. 383.

and very rich, forsook all, and became a Monk; after the death of his father, builded six religious houses in Sicily, *giving them a form and rule of living: he built another within* Rome, *in the name, and honour of S.* Andrew, *wherein he dwelt with many Monkish brethren, which from time to time keeping his rule, are called* Gregorians; *their habit is a copper coloured cloathing.* In these words they name and place saint *Gregories* rule among other monastical old rules and orders.

The Four and Twentieth Chapter.

How, by all the circumstances of every action or institution, the Monks of S. Gregories *monasteries, especially they in* Rome *differed from S.* Benedicts *Monks.*

HAving thus proved by so many, and great witnesses, of all sorts, old and later, Catholicks and Protestants, that S. *Gregory* for himself, his Monks, and monastery, had a proper and peculiar rule, neither *Equitian*, *Benedictin*, nor any other, but of his own institution, and ordinance. Now I will more particularly deliver many material differences, wherein by himself, the best witnes; *Ioannes Diaconus*, (who wrote his life among *Italians*) and others, it was proper to himself, or different from all other rules, especially of saint *Benedict*.

First, I will begin with that general note, distinction, and difference of all institutions, and actions:

Quis

Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando?

Who, what, where, by what helps, why, how, when? and briefly ſhew how in all theſe circumſtances, in all judgement, this action and inſtitution of ſaint *Gregory* differed from other monaſtical inſtitutions, eſpecially that of ſaint *Benedict*. And firſt concerning the *Quis*, who it was, that was actor and inſtitutor in this great work? *He*, who was (even by the greateſt enemies to the See Apoſtolick of *Rome*, and monaſtical life) *Gregorius Magnus, Romanus, ex Monacho ac Diacono Pontifex factus, omnium Pontificum Romanorum doctrina, & vita præſtantiſſimus.* Gregory *the great, a Roman; of a Monk, and Deacon made Pope; the moſt excellent of all the Popes of* Rome, *for learning and life.* Jo. Balæus lib. de Pontificibus Romanis in Gregorio Magno.

This Actor being the moſt holy, and learned Pope, that ever was, choſen from a Monk to that higheſt dignity, ſo ſtudiouſly devoted to monaſtical life, and learning, from his tender years, as I have deſcribed before; being withall, able for worldly wealth, and from his youth moſt deſirous, of the converſion of the Engliſh nation, and accordingly intending fit means (ſanctity, and learning) for that high end: wee muſt needs acknowledge a great difference betwixt this Actor, our moſt learned Doctor of Chriſts Church, and ſaint *Benedict*, or any other of the like monaſtical intention,

(who

who (as saint *Gregory* testifies of him) being committed to *Rome*, the chief place of learning and study, in those days did resolutely forsake the place, together with the study of learning, and temporal riches, to serve God, and to seek monastical habit, willing to be unlearned; only to serve and please God. *Rome liberalibus litterarum studiis traditus fuerat; sed despectis litterarum studiis, relicta domo, rebusque Patris soli Deo placere, desiderans, sancta conversationis habitum quæsivit; recessit igitur scienter nesciens, & sapienter indoctus.* And as these two men differed so much in learning, and desire thereof, the one endevouring exceedingly to advance it in himself and others, & having abundant means of his own to make any foundation he thought necessary thereunto; the other being quite otherwise affected: so, certainly they differed in their institutions, and in the *Quid* they prosecuted in their foundations to the end of their lives.

Gregor. lib. 2. dial. in initio in vita S. Benedicti.

And therfore (to insist farther upon the circumstance of *Quid*) we must needs hold and affirm that this saint *Gregory* being so able and willing to perform his intention by his own means, without any assistance of others; and so great a lover of learning, with piety, and so excellently learned, did make his foundations accordingly, and so settled them by richly endowing them for his monks without

without any time to be ſpent in labours, or any thing, that might be a diſtraction, or hinderance to holy learning. This is moſt evident by his Roman monaſtery, in which were ſo many holy, Apoſtolick, learned men, in his own time, that many of them were Biſhops in *Italy*, divers were with him at *Conſtantinople*, divers lived ſo with him in his Palace, when he was Pope; and 40 ſuch worthy men were ſent from that one monaſtery into *England*, that ſix of them were Archbiſhops here; S. *Auguſtin*, Saint *Lawrence*, S. *Mellitus*, S. *Iuſtus*, S. *Honorius* at *Canterbury*, S. *Paulinus* at *York*: and ſo many of them, S. *Peter*, *Ioannes*, *Ruffianus*, *Graciosus*, *Petivinus*, and *Nathaniel*, our firſt Abbots here at *Canterbury*; all of them being of the ſame moſt holy, and learned Apoſtolick order. And he himſelf, with many of his Monks, were come to that perfection in holy learning, and Apoſtolick deſires, in the time of *Benedictus* the firſt, (Pope in the year 573, and for four years after) that they were then come three days journey on towards *England*, to have been our Apoſtles here; and had come through, had not the Romans, with open clamour to Pope *Benedictus*, to the great honour of S. *Gregory* then, and for their great need of him in *Rome*, by reaſon of his eminent perfections; cried out, *Petrum offendiſti, Romam deſtruxiſti, quia Gregorium dimiſiſti.* Joan. Diacon. lib 1. vit. S. Gregorii cap. 23.

Thou

Thou haſt offended, S. Peter, thou haſt undone Rome, *becauſe thou haſt ſent* Gregory *away*. Whereupon he was called back, and ſtayed. To ſuch Apoſtolick perfection Saint *Gregory* was come ſixteen years at leaſt before he ſent Saint *Auguſtin* hither; and more then as long before S. *Benedicts* rule was approved by, or preſented, and known to S. *Gregory*, then Pope.

This holy rule and order, that ſo ſoon had trained up ſo many Apoſtolick men, for the converſion of Pagans, if it had been given after S. *Benedicts* rule was an approved and received rule, could not poſſibly be the rule of S. *Benedict*, or like unto it, concerning this excellent Prerogative. For S. *Benedicts* rule doth not allow at any time but little more then three howres ſtudy for learning: whereupon the new altered Engliſh Monks, in their Preface to their rule of their Congregation, do plainly acknowledge that in the time of S. *Benedict*, and as he inſtituted his rule; *Few Monks were learned, few Prieſts, almoſt all addicted to manual arts. Panci docti, pauci Presbyteri, omnes fere manualibus artibus addicti.* And they, which now altered this rule, being Clergy men before, and ſent into *England*, with the reſt of our Apoſtolick Clergy, for the converſion of Hereticks, were forced to alter the rule of S. *Benedict*, not fit for ſuch Apoſtolick eminent employments, as it was penned

Regula S. Benedicti.

Benedictini Angliæ præfatione Regul. Congregationis Anglicæ.

penned by S. *Benedict*, and approved by S. *Gregory*. This is testified, and written with the known hand of one of the two first English men, of this new English Congregation, their now rule being altered & penned by him. Therefore this *maximum virorum monasterium*, this greatest monastery of Monks of S. *Gregory*, always, and by all men named saint *Gregories* monastery, must needs be of his own rule, and institution thereof, and not of saint *Benedicts*.

The next circumstance is *Ubi*, Where? The very place where this institution of S. *Gregory* was, (it being *Rome* the greatest city of *Italy*, and *Europe*) proveth it could not be of saint *Benedicts* order, both by the rule of S. *Benedict*, the greatest part whereof could not be there kept; and by the testimony before of 20 Benedictin Abbots, with the Popes assent, and seal, avouching that S. *Benedicts* rule could not be kept in Cities, Towns, and Castles. Nor indeed did S. *Benedict* found any in such places. But as S. *Gregory* proveth of him, when he sought monastical habit of such order, as he desired, and after founded; being then in *Rome*, where many Monasteries and Orders were; he went thence, and from all places of ordinary habitation, not founding any monastery in any such place as I said before, *sanctæ conversationis habitum quæsivit, recessit igitur*. Where S. *Gregory* himself,

Gregor. l. 2. dial. in vit. S. Benedicti in initio & cap. 1.

self maketh this the reason, *igitur*, of his going from *Rome*, forsaking learning, and going into desart places. *Hic cum jam relictis literarum studiis petere deserta decrevisset*, and *deserti loci secessum petiit.*

Whereas on the contrary side, in *Rome*, then, most flourishing with number of monasteries, Monks, and religious persons, insomuch that the very Nuns (which did not equallize the multitude of Monks) were so many, that saint *Gregory* afterwards when he was Pope, gave maintenance to three thousand of them: so flourishing also in all sorts of learning, that the Roman writers found cause to say, *Tunc rerum sapientia Romæ sibi templum visibiliter quodammodo fabricarat &c.* that wisdome seemed then to have singularly chosen *Rome* for the visible seat of her Temple: and that the Court of the Apostles See was underpropped by the seven arts, as by so many pillars of noble stone: In *Rome*, I say, thus qualified, it was a most easie thing for so wise and learned a man as saint *Gregory* to make choice of a learned, Apostolical rule for his purpose: Nor was there in the world any other place more proper for his design.

Joan. Diacon. l.2. vit. S. Greg. cap. 13.

For, besides all other advantages, *Rome* was the Popes; *i.* the chiefest Bishops residence, from who by opportunity of the *Ubi* or place, he might have the soonest and highest approbation for his rule. For the general

ral Councel of *Chalcedon*, approved by S. *Leo*, and by after-Popes, decreeing, that no monastery should be founded in any place, without the allowance of the Bishop there, to approve the rule, order, and profession thereof: there can be no reasonable doubt, but that this monastery and rule of S. *Gregory* in *Rome*, where the Pope was Bishop and Resident, was approved by the Pope then being: who by our best Benedictin antiquaries themselves, and others, must needs bee *Pelagius* the first of that name; (Pope in the year 555, and continuing the Papacy four years & ten months) in whose time at the least, (as these Benedictin Monks shall prove, when I come to the note or circumstance of *Quando*, *When*) this monastery was founded by S. *Gregory*.

After Pope *Pelagius*, *Joannes* the third succeeded, and being Pope thirteen years, (when S. *Gregory*, and his Monks, and monastery, were renowned in *Rome*, for most holy, and learned Monastical life) must needs approve that, which was so approved by his predecessors, and by God and man. Then *Ioannes Diaconus*, S. *Gregory*, and others, witness plainly, how all these three Popes in order, *Benedictus*, *Pelagius* the second, and S. *Gregory* himself, approved it, before he approved S. *Benedicts* rule. Therefore I must needs say, S. *Gregories* rule, and monastery in *Rome*, were more anciently

Joan. Diacon. lib. 2. vit. S. Gregorii capiti 22,23,24, 25,26,31. & 32.
Gregor. dial. l. 4. c. 55.
Petrus Roma. Joan. Moscus. & Joan. Diac. supra.

anciently thus approved, then any rule, or monastery of S. *Benedict*, was, or could be.

Touching the fourth circumstance, which was *Quibus, auxiliis*; by what helps Saint *Gregory* founded that his renowned monastery in *Rome*? It is manifest by what hath been said before, that for the material house afterwards made a formal monastery by the rule given unto it; S. *Gregory* was the sole Patron, Founder, and Benefactor; and giving sufficient rents and revenues to it, out of his own proper riches, and inheritance, which were very great and ample.

The rule and mandat of it, to make it properly and truly not only a monastery, but also his monastery in *Rome*, was the rule he chose out of the chiefest monasteries in *Rome*: and out of the monastery of *Valentius* in *Valeria*; who, as S. *Gregory* himself witnesseth, did rule S. *Gregory* and his monastery in *Rome*, as he had ruled his own before in *Valeria*. And which he learned from most holy *Eleutherius à viro sanctissimo Eleutherio, a miraculous ruler of his own monastery (sui monasterii)* who was formerly a Monk, and then Abbot of his own monastery by *Spoletum*, as S. *Gregory* was of this his monastery in *Rome*; and again, of *Hilarion*, and *Maximian* his masters; *Hilarione & Maximiano magistris*; as the Breviaries of the Churches, both of *Rome*, and *England*, witness, with many other

Gregor. Dial. l. 4. c. 21.

Breviar. Rom. & Sarum in S. Gregorio. Joan. diac. l. 1. vita S. Gregorii.

other Authorities and Authors. And perhaps which he learned of ſome others, but not in any thing from S. *Benedicts* rule; which if then written, was by all Writers but *latens regula*, an hidden rule at *Caſſinum*, far from *Rome*, and unknown many years after, to S. *Gregory*, the chooſer and giver of this his own rule and mandat, under the higheſt Papall Authority, allowance, and approbation, as is before remembred.

And although, (as ſaint *Gregory* writeth) S. *Honoratius* was ruler, and Abbot of his monaſtery, of two hundred Monks at *Fundis*, and there gave round about him examples of excellent converſation, (*Ibique vitâ illius circumquaque exempla eximiæ converſationis dedit,*) who had not been any mans diſciple before; (*nequaquam hunc fuiſſe cujuſquam diſcipulum audivi;*) where he alſo writeth of others ſuppoſed to have been internally taught and directed: yet, as he ſaith, it was the uſe of right converſation; *that a man ſhould not be bold to rule, that had not learned to be ſubject; nor command obedience unto ſubjects, who had known to yeild it to his rulers. Uſus quidem rectæ converſationis eſt, ut præeſſe non audeat, qui ſubeſſe non dedicerit; nec obedientiam ſubjecti imperet, qui Prælatis non novit exhibere.* And according to this heavenly doctrine, this moſt learned, humble man, S.

Greg. dial. li. 1. ca. 1. de Honorato Abbate Monaſter. Fundenſis.

Gregory, though in his youth, he had been brought up by religious old men; (*in tenera ætate religiosis senibus indagator solertissimus adhærebat,*) and had now founded his monastery, and given it the rule he had chosen and resolved on. Yet he did not take upon himself at first the place of Abbot, but chose another for that superiority; making himself a subject to his own rule under the Abbot in his own monastery; though it be true, that afterwards upon the concordant desires of the Monks, he yeilded to rule when he had rather have been obedient. *Postea verò cum subesse mallet, fratrum votiva concordia imminente, præesse non renuit.*

The next circumstance is *Cur*, why saint Gregory founded that his monastery in *Rome?* The reason of this appeareth to be his great desire of holy, and learned men there, to live with himself in such a rule, as might both perfect them in themselves, and enable them for the good of others, to preach, to teach, to confound, and convert Hereticks, Infidels, and others in errour, either of life or belief. Thus the effect proved, and to this he ordered his own life, and the rest also in his Monastery, though perhaps not so exactly, and perfectly, as he did: For as is testified of him, from the very beginning of his monastical profession. *Erat ei tanta abstinentia ciborum, sedulitas orationis*

Joan. Diac. in vita S. Greg. l. 1. ca. 7.

orationum & jejuniorum, studiosus tam desiderata sacrorum librorum, ut infirmato stomacho lacessitus, vix subsistere posse videretur. He was of such great abstinence from meat, of such diligence and continuance in prayer and fasting, and so eagerly studious of holy Books, that for the weakness of his stomack, it seemed impossible for him to subsist.

This being so, we must needs say, that his holy rule and order prescribed, or permitted him, and the rest so to do: otherwise he neither would, nor could have so lived; nor the rest of the Monks, among whom, many came unto the greatest perfection, both for learning, and Apostolick life. And being that among his other most holy intentions, he did even from the beginning of his profession, or very soon after most earnestly aim at the conversion of the English by himself, and the other Apostolick disciples of his order; it followeth by good consequence, that he did certainly then institute his rule, and monastery, accordingly as I have said before.

From this rule and monastery so instituted, and not from any other, followed the actual conversion of the *Saxons*, then in the kingdome of *Britain*: Saint *Gregory* (from that heroick work, as I have often repeated, having the appellation of their Apostle) sending thither, as soon as he could, from his

sole monastery, forty Apostolical Missioners for that end; which was more then any other one monastery in the world was able to afford. Some of that number being the English men, whom saint *Gregory* had formerly converted in *Rome*, and zealously placed in his monastery to be trained up for that purpose: his intention of the work having been from the time of *Ella* King of *Deira*, according to the antiquities quoted in the one and twentieth Chapter, or at least (according to the latest accompt of our old Benedictin Monk of *Worcester*) ever since the conversion of the English youths in *Rome*, by S. *Gregory* in the year of Christ 559.

Manuscrip. antiq. Gallic. & Anglican. antiquissimum. Ethelward History li. 2. c. 1. Florent. Wigorn. Chron. anno 559.

Concerning the sixth circumstance, which is *Quomodo*, or *How*? nothing occurs to be added in this place, because it appeareth by what is said already, How, or in what manner, and to what end, saint *Gregory* founded that his great Roman monastery. Many of the particular rules thereof being different from the rules of S. *Benedict*, and all others, and only proper to S. *Gregories* Apostolical order, as I shall particularly deliver in the next Chapter; where I mean to make it more manifest, how, and wherein this was a distinct, and different order from all others.

The last circumstance is, *Quando*, when this Roman renowned monastery of S. Gre-

gory,

gory, with the rule thereof, was founded, and instituted? as touching this, it appeareth by the best Benedictin Writers before, that although it was founded after his other six monasteries in *Sicily*, and the rule given to them; which neither was, nor could be suddenly effected; but in long time required to so great a business; (if saint *Benedicts* rule was at all written at that time, it was but *latens regula*, only known at *Cassinum*, never allowed by any Pope or Bishop in *Sicily*, or other place; as the contenders for Benedictins themselves acknowledge: nor were there any Monks of saint *Benedicts* rule then in *Sicily*, or near unto it;) yet no man proving or contending, but those six monasteries in *Sicily* were of the same one rule, and order, with that in *Rome*; it is supposed that the rule of the Roman monastery, was as ancient, as those in *Sicily*: and so more ancient then any known allowed rule of S. *Benedict*:

For as some Bishop, or Bishops in *Sicily*, did, and must needs by the Councel of *Chalcedon*, allow of S. *Gregories* monasteries, and their rule in *Sicily*; so the monastery of S. *Benedict*, at *Cassinum*, and all his other little monasteries in *Campania*, with their rule and government, had their allowance of the Bishop of those places long before S. *Benedicts* rule was written by him, which was but a little before his death, as saint *Gregory*, Gregor. l. 2. di. al. ca. 36.

and all other Authours bear witness. So that his written rule was not approved by any, before it had allowance by saint *Gregory*: For the Bishop of *Campania*, that approved saint *Benedicts* monasteries, did only approve the rule and government, they had then; which was only the monasterial rule and government, they had then under their Abbot S. *Benedict* by word and tradition; before his rule was written, which kinde of government, is different, and distinct, from government under a known certain rule; as Saint *Benedict* himself teacheth, saying, *Cœnobitarum, hoc est, monasteriale militans sub regula vel Abbate.* And this rule *sub Abbate*, was the rule of his monastery at *Cassinum*, and of all the others, when they, and their rule were allowed. And yet Saint *Gregories* monastery in *Rome*, with the rule thereof, was allowed by the Popes there; long before any knowledge of Saint *Benedicts* rule in that place, or allowance in any: and this by testimony of the best *Benedictin* Writers themselves; *Abbas Vspergensis*, *Sigebert*, and *Matthew* of *Westminster*, making this monastery, and rule, with the Papal allowance of both, so ancient, that they place Saint *Gregory* a renowned Monk in it, in the year of Christ 558.

S Benedict in Regula cap. 1.

Abbas Vspergen. Hist. & apud Benedictinum Apostol. Sigeber. Chro. an. 558. Matt. Westmonast. ibid.

And our old Antiquary *Ethelward*, hath made him a publick preacher there, when he

he converted our English young men in *Rome*, before *Elfa* King of *Northumberland*, (then *Deira*) was solemnly baptized by Bishop *Lucius*; which, by what is said, *ch.* 28. was before the parents of *Mauritius* were married: who being Emperour in the year 586, and reigning 17 years, was in the year of Christ 603, threescore years old. By which accompt of worthy, and approved Authours, we must needs say, that the rule and order of saint *Gregory*, and his monastery in *Rome*, was more ancient, then the written rule of saint *Benedict*, by any reckoning and authority; and yet make saint *Gregory* at his death, little above eighty years old; of which time, he had been Pope about thirteen years and six moneths. The time before not being so long, as to make one too old, to be chosen Pope of *Rome*. And our old Benedictin Monk, making saint *Gregory* scholar to saint *Herculanus*, when he was Monk or Abbot, (before he was Bishop of *Perusia*, and there martyred by *Totilas*, after seven years siege of that City,) will scarcely give him fewer years.

The late Benedictin Writers of the *Apostolatus*, confess, that no man that hath written the acts of S. *Gregory*, hath left it noted, in what year of his age he died; but there be, who affirm, he was a Monk very many years; *nec ullus eorum qui res gestas illius persecuti sunt, notatum reliquerit, quo an-*

Apostol. Benedict. tract. 1. sect. 1. pag. 180.

po ætatis mortuus fuerit. Sunt quidā qui valde multos annos ipsi in monachatu tribuunt. And they freely acknowledge, that Saint *Gregory* in divers places witnesseth, he was a Monk a long time, *diu*; and this themselves do testifie plainly, setting down many Books and Works of S. *Gregory*, written by him, among his Monks; and again, that he was a holy and most learned man, before he was a Monk: *Multitudo eorum, quæ inter eos disputans dictavit, ut apparet ex Epist. 22. lib. 11. ad Subdiaconum Ravennatem, satis probat diu eum inter Monachos commoratum fuisse: Siquidem & Pentateuchum, hoc est quinque libros Moysis, cum Josue, & Judice cum libris, & libros Regum, tractando explicuit, Verum quidem est, Gregorium ante Monachatum, virum sanctum ac doctissimum fuisse.*

By which acknowledgement these men have more then fully and sufficiently confessed, and proved; that the Monasteries of S. *Gregory*, with their rule and order, (which was and must needs be ever from their first institution, as Saint *Gregory* himself also witnesseth; *Regula Monasterii fuit semper*) were far more ancient by all accompts, then any known rule of Saint *Benedict* in *Rome*, or any place out of *Cassinum*. For Saint *Gregories* last founded monastery in *Rome*, where he was Monk, was quite perfected with Rule, and Monks, before he entred

tred there into monastical life; being then a most learned man, a Monk of many years standing, in which he had written so many learned Books; and indeed the fittest Apostolick man to be sent into *England* by confessions of all in the time of Pope *Benedict* the first; who, as the Church of *England*, and others prove, drew Saint *Gregory* out of his monastery, and monastical life, to be one of the seven Roman Deacons: Before which time, he had instituted his last, and greatest Roman monastery, with the rule thereof; by approbation of the Bishop and Pope of *Rome*, as the general Councel of *Chalcedon*, often cited; and *Concilium Agathense* had provided, and plainly decreed: *Monasteria sibi constituere studentes, visum est neminem usquam ædificare, nec construere posse Monasterium præter sententiam ipsius Civitatis Episcopi.*

Concil. Chalcedon. can. 4.

Concil. Agathes can. 27.

By all which it is clear, that Saint *Gregory* had not onely founded his great monastery in *Rome*, with its rule, but also had the highest Papal approbation thereunto, long before Saint *Benedicts* rule was known or heard of in *Rome*, to have such allowance; the first approver of his rule being Saint *Gregory* himself afterwards in time of his Papacy. And it was this rule, and order of Saint *Gregories* own monastery, chosen by himself, and so approved; wherein Saint *Gregory* received that monachical habit, he had long

long desired, *in quo diu desideratum monachicum capiens indumentum*; which surely could not be the Benedictin habit, neither known to Saint *Gregory* so long to desire it; nor concluded by Saint *Benedict*, what it should be; as is manifest in his rule, *De vestimentis & calceamentis: de quarumcumque omnium colore aut grossitudine non causentur Monachi; sed quales inveniri possunt in Provincia, in qua habitant, aut quod vilius comparari potest.*

S. Benedict. in Regul. cap. 55.

Saint *Gregory* also made choice of the Monks of his monastery, which was not the use of Saint *Benedicts* rule. Saint *Gregories*, and his Monks singing, and service were different from the *Benedictins*: so was their provision and maintenance, to free them from bodily labours, to attend to their studies, and prayers. In Saint *Gregories* monasteries, the Monks at the first lived under obedience and command of an Abbot, which S. *Benedict*, and all distinguish from living under a certain rule. All which things, the contenders themselves for *Benedictins*, prove in their translation of S. *Gregories* life, out of *Paulus Diaconus*: in these their very words of him: *He built six monasteries in Sicily, and furnished them with certain Monks to sing the praises of Almighty God. The seventh, he erected within the walls of Rome, in which afterwards, having gathered together a great convent of Monks, and*

Paulus Diaconus in vita S. Gregorii.

for-

forsaking the pomp of the world; he himself lived in regular discipline, under the command and obedience of an Abbot. Unto these monasteries, he allotted so much yearly rent, out of his own means, as might suffice every one for necessary maintenance. Joannes Diaconus, and others, write in like manner; so do the Churches of *Rome*, and *England*, in the publick office of Saint *Gregory*; but of this I shall speak more hereafter, this sufficeth for this place.

Joan. Diacon. lib. 1. vita S. Gregorii.

Having thus shewed, that saint *Gregories* rule was not only different from that of saint *Benedict*, but also that it had Papall approbation before Saint *Benedicts* written rule (this is it, that all men call his rule) had either Episcopal, or Papal approbation, or was known in *Rome*; or to any Bishop, that might give any such allowance to it in *Italy*. I add, that the old Benedictins, that were before, *Marianus Scotus*, and are cited by him to that purpose, (*sui dicunt*) speaking of Saint *Benedict*; do testifie that Saint *Benedict* must needs live, by their computation, till after Saint *Gregory* was Pope: And the Benedictin Monks *Florentius Wigornienſis*, for *England*; and *Trithemius*, for Forriners; with others, do approve, and follow this accompt: by which (S. *Gregory* proving, & al men granting that he wrote his rule but a little before his death,) it follows clearly, that the rule of Saint *Benedict*, cometh many

Benedictini Monachi antiqui apud Marianum Scotum in S. Benedicto Mar. Scot. ibid. Florent. Wigornienſ. Chr. in eodem. Trithemius li. de Scriptor. in S. Benedicto. Gregor. lib. 2. dial.

many years after the rule of Saint *Gregory*, both for writing, use and approbation.

And though others say, that he died, and consequently wrote his rule much before, yet they confess, (nor can they do less, so many ancient Writers testifying and proving it,) that his written rule was kept secret, and concealed at *Cassinum*, where he died, till the time of *Simplicius* Abbot there, who, (as the contenders themselves for Benedictin Monks, with others, acknowledge *Simplicius anno* 560. *Abbas esse cœpit*,) was not Abbot at *Cassinum*, till the year 560, and then continued in that office till the year 570, which was the space of sixteen years: which being supposed, I infer evidently, that though he had made the rule known out of *Cassinum*, in the very beginning of his being Abbot there, and had been of power to have approved it; (which neither he, nor Saint *Benedict* himself, nor any of his Abbots had;) yet certainly it had been published much too late, for Saint *Gregory*, or any of his monasteries, (so long founded, with their rule and approbation before) to have been of Saint *Benedicts* then unknown, and unapproved rule. But whensoever (be it the beginning, middle, or latter end of his time) yea, whereseever, and howsoever, he made the rule of Saint *Benedict* known, it was not received, or approved by any Authority, to be a warranted rule, to follow

Apostol. Benedict. tract. 1. sect. 1. p. 180. 189.

Manuscrip. antiq. in Vatican. in prologo ante regulam S. Benedicti.

Sigebert lib. de illust. Script. Ecclesiæ. cap. 31.

Petrus diacon. apud Anton. Gallo. Apologetick pag. 50.

low and profeſs, till many years after *Simplicius* his death: S. *Gregory*, who was the firſt that did it, not approving it (after it was brought to *Rome*, when he was Pope) by the teſtimony of the firſt Benedictine Monks, *Regino*, *Sigebert*, *Florentius Wigornienſis*, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, and others, till the year 596. which was after S. *Gregory* had ſent in *Britain* the learned Apoſtolick diſciples of his monaſterie (of long being there in an approved rule,) which he did as *Joannes Diaconus*, and others teſtifie; *initio anni quarti*, in the beginning of the fourth year of his Papacy.

Regino hiſt. Sigebert. an. 596. Floren. Wigorn. Chro. Matt. Weſtm. Chro. an. 596. Joan. diacon. in vita S. Gregorii.

And the chiefeſt Author whereon the contenders for the Benedictins, ſeem to relie, being *Aimonius Floriacenſis*, a Monk of *Floriacum*, a Benedictin monaſtery in *France*, who wrote the life of Saint *Albo*, being here in *England* in Saint *Dunſtans* time; (out of which Book they cite him,) doth confirm this even in the words they cite from him for their purpoſe, which be theſe: *Eadem quippe natio* (*Anglorum*) *ad amorem S. Benedicti, memoratique loci duabus ex cauſis, acceſſit; una quidem, quia Beatus Papa Gregorius, miſſis ad eam fidei Chriſti Prædicatoribus, ejuſdem dilecti domini Benedicti Regulam obſervandam ſpecialius inculcavit. The ſame Engliſh Nation, came to the love of Saint* Benedict, *and the named place* (Floriacum) *for two cauſes: one*

Galiel. Malm. l. 3. Pontific. Aimonius lib. de vit. S. Albonis. Apoſt. Bened. tract. 1. ſect. 1. pag. 205.

one because the blessed Pope Gregory, *having sent Preachers of the Faith of Christ unto it, did specially inculcate the rule of beloved* Dominus Benedict *to be observed.* Where it is evident, S. *Gregory* had sent his Monks, professed in another sooner approved rule to preach here, before he had approved S. *Benedicts* rule.

Had *Aimonius* thought the first converters of the English to have been *Benedictins*, he would rather have said, that they were specially affected to S. *Benedict*, because converted to Christianity by men of his order; then because Saint *Gregory* having sent Preachers unto them, did afterwards more specially inculcate the observation of Saint *Benedicts* rule. Well might Saint *Gregory* after Saint *Benedicts* rule was known, and approved by him, recommend it for the new convertites, or for others in the world, without his, or his Missioner Monks being of it. But before I go farther, I ask where this inculcation, fathered by *Aimonius* (living in the tenth of age) upon Saint *Gregory*, is to be found either in Saint *Gregories* works, or other old record, whence *Aimonius* might take it? Could the aforesaid contenders finde that Saint *Gregory* had any where called the rule which he and his Monks followed in any of his monasteries, the rule of Saint *Benedict*, they had merited well of the order.

Their

Their other reason of the love of *England* to *Floriacum* monastery, is, because *Oswald* (afterwards Archbishop of *York*) was a Monk there, *Alia erat Oswaldi in Floriacensi Ecclesia Monachatus.* But this was a late love, for this *Oswald* being the thirty second Archbishop of *York*, died the twenty seventh of *February*, in the year of Christ 992. whereas our Antiquaries prove that our lovers of Saint *Benedicts* order in *England*, did love *Floriacum* monastery before that time; and for another cause, which was as it seemeth by the old Benedictin Monk of *Malmsbury*, that the beginning of Saint *Benedicts* order in *England*, came thence, (*Floriacum, à quo, loco;*) the Church of *York* celebrating the translation of Saint *Benedict* thither, from *Cassinum*; and S. *Wilfrid* professing in publick assembly, (being born thirty years after S. *Augustins* coming to the English) that he first in *England*, did give the rule of Saint *Benedict* to be observed of Monks; and those at *Evesham* in *Worcester-shire*, being assigned unto it, by Pope *Constantine*, an hundred years after Saint *Augustins* aforesaid coming; and authentically affirming, that S. *Benedicts* rule was not in these parts, till that time; and there thought to come first, from *Floriacum* monastery, not founded by any accompt, until fifty years after the coming of Saint *Augustin* into *England*.

Catal. Archepiscop. Ebor. Godwine in York in Osw. Guliel. Malm. in S. Wilfrido. Manuscr. anci. Eccles. Cant. S. Augustini. Bed & Capgr. in S. Wilfrido. Constantin. Papa. epist. ad S. Erkenwald. Archep. Cant. Capgr. in S. Egwino.

Sigebert Chr. in Floriacum monast. Matth Westm. Chr. in eodem monasterio.

Where-

Wherefore (to draw at length towards an end of this Chapter) I cannot ſee, how by any circumſtance of the Inſtitution of Saint *Gregories* monaſtery in *Rome*, or any of his other, he, or any of his diſciples, either thoſe, that came into *England*, or any others, could poſſibly be of Saint *Benedicts* rule unapproved, and unknown, till long after they had entred into monaſtical profeſſion, in ſome of thoſe monaſteries: all, and every of them, having a rule to make them monaſteries; and thoſe, who entred into them, Monks and religious men, which could not be without a known, approved, and profeſſed rule.

No man could deſire to be of an unknown rule; the known axiom is, that *voluntas non fertur in incognitum.* None of Saint *Gregories* diſciples could (as Benedictin Monks did, deſiring to be of ſaint *Benedicts* rule) attend four or five days for entrance into the monaſtery, whoſe rules they knew not; or which had no ſuch rule as they ſought: none of them could hear the rules read three ſeveral times after ſome moneths diſtances between; where the rule was neither to be heard, read, or underſtood. No man could with deliberation, promiſe to keep, what he knew not: *Si habita ſecum deliberatione, promiſerit ſe omnia cuſtodire.* No man could be received, or admitted under ſuch a rule: *ſuſcipiatur*

S. Benedict. regul. cap. 58.

ſcipiatur in congregatione, ſciens ſe ſub Lege Regulæ conſtitutum; quòd ei exilla die non liceat egredi de Monaſterio, nec collum excutere de ſub Jugo Regulæ, quam ſubtam moroſa deliberatione licuit recuſare, aut ſuſcipere. This was the admittance of all into Saint *Benedicts* rule; and unpoſſible with Saint *Gregory*, and the Monks of his monaſteries knowing, deſiring, and admitted to keep their known and allowed rule.

Wherefore (to draw at length towards an end of this Chapter) I cannot see, how by any circumstance of the Institution of Saint *Gregories* monastery in *Rome*, or any of his other, he, or any of his disciples, either those, that came into *England*, or any others, could possibly be of Saint *Benedicts* rule unapproved, and unknown, till long after they had entred into monastical profession, in some of those monasteries: all, and every of them, having a rule to make them monasteries; and those, who entred into them, Monks and religious men, which could not be without a known, approved, and professed rule.

No man could desire to be of an unknown rule; the known axiom is, that *voluntas non fertur in incognitum.* None of Saint *Gregories* disciples could (as Benedictin Monks did, desiring to be of saint *Benedicts* rule) attend four or five days for entrance into the monastery, whose rules they knew not; or which had no such rule as they sought: none of them could hear the rules read three several times after some moneths distances between; where the rule was neither to be heard, read, or understood. No man could with deliberation, promise to keep, what he knew not: *Si habita secum deliberatione, promiserit se omnia custodire.* No man could be received, or admitted under such a rule: *suscipiatur*

S. Benedict. regul. cap. 58.

ſcipiatur in congregatione, ſciens ſe ſub Lege Regula conſtitutum; quòd ei ex illa die non liceat egredi de Monaſterio, nec collum excutere de ſub jugo Regula, quam ſubtam moroſa deliberatione licuit recuſare, aut ſuſcipere. This was the admittance of all into Saint *Benedicts* rule, and unpoſſible with Saint *Gregory*, and the Monks of his monaſteries knowing, deſiring, and admitted to keep their known and allowed rule.

The Five and Twentieth Chapter.

Many other, and great differences between the Monasteries, and Monks of Saint Gregories *learned Apostolick rule; and others:*

NOw I will come to the particular rules of Saint *Gregories* order and monasteries, properly belonging thereunto; and altogether different from others, and especially from S. *Benedicts* rule, and institution, as he wrote it, and as it was allowed, and received. I have shewed before, how the most material, and necessary rule in monastical profession of living in community, in the order and monastery of S. *Gregory*, was different from that set down, and directed in S. *Benedicts* rule. All circumstances of every institution, foundation, or action, have already proved them distinct, and divers. Antiquaries both Catholicks, and Protestants, have testified, that the habit of their Order was quite different.

rent. The Author of the Book *of the Original of holy Orders*, with the ſocieties of Friars, Minorites, and Jeſuits, (the approvers, and publiſhers of it) have, both in habit, manner of tonſure, and all things, whereby they deſcribe and ſet down S. *Gregories* order, to be a proper and peculiar order, diſtinguiſhed it from S. *Benedicts*, and all other orders. And the moſt ancient monuments of S. *Gregories* monaſtery in *Rome*, in his time, in the true picture of S. *Gregory* in his monaſtical habit, related, and ſet down by *Joannes Diaconus*, do in this wiſe deſcribe him: with a little Beard, round Crown, and ſpacious, Cheſ-nut coloured habit, the Goſpel in his left hand, and ſign of the Croſs in his right. *Barba modica, corona rotunda & ſpatioſa, planeta caſtanea, Evangelium in ſiniſtra modum, Crucis in dextera.* Joan. diac. lib. 4. vit. S. Greg. cap. 84.

S. *Gregory* did not admit any into Monaſteries to make probation in Religion, until he was ſeventeen or eighteen years old, if the monaſtery was in an Iſland, as his ſix in *Sicily* were; of ſeventeen or eighteen years old he admitted Engliſh men, as others. *Pueros Anglos, qui ſunt ab annis decem & ſeptem, vel decem & octo, ut in monaſterio Deo proficiant, comparet*; whereby we muſt needs ſay, that our Engliſh young men, whom he redeemed at *Rome*, and placed in his monaſtery, were at the leaſt of ſuch age. In another place he ſaith, that none ſhould Gregor. Epiſt. ad Candidum. Joan. Diacon. l. 2. cap. 46. vit. S. Gregor.

be placed in monasteries in Islands, before they were eighteen years of age; and if any younger were there, they should be removed, & sent to *Rome*. *Quia dura est in Insulis congregatio monachorum, etiam pueros in iisdem monasteriis, ante decem & octo annorum tempus suscipi prohibemus; vel si qui nunc sunt, tua eos experientia auferat, & in Romanam urbem transmittat. Hoc & in Palmaria, aliisque Insulis te per omnia volumus custodire.* It was far otherwise in S. *Benedicts* monastery, and proceedings; far younger were received there.

Gregor. Epist. l. 1. ca. 48. Anthemio subdiacono 62.

S. Benedict. Reg c. 58. 3.

S. *Benedict* in his rule alloweth but twelve moneths, (forty eight weeks) for probation of Monks, before they be professed. But

Greg. l. 7. Epist. 23. ad fortunatum Episcopum.

S. *Gregory* gave charge and command, that none should receive tonsure, and admittance, before two years in probation were fully ended. *Monasteriis omnibus fraternitas vestra districtius interdicat; ut eos, quos ad convertendum susciperint, prius quam biennium in conversatione compleant, nullo modo audeant tonsurare.* And to assure us, that this was in his rule, and observed in his monastery; and that the contrary was not commendable in any place, but dangerous, he giveth the reason of this his rule, and decree, in the very next words. *Sed hoc spatio vita moresque eorum sollicite comprobentur; ne quis eorum, aut non sit contentus, quod voluit; aut ratum non habeat, quod elegit.*

legit. Nam dum grave sit, inexpertos hominum sociari obsequiis; quis possit dicere, quam sit gravius ad Dei servitium improbatos applicari? But in this space (of two years) let their life, and manners be carefully proved; lest any of them, either he not content, with what he hath formerly willed; or do not ratifie that, which he hath chosen; for as it is a grievous thing, for unskilful men, to be associated to the obedience of men: Who is able to say, how grievous a thing it is, for unapproved men, to be applyed to the service of God?

By this his order and decree, to be observed in all monasteries, (*Monasteriis omnibus*) where *Fortunatus* was Bishop, which was in the Kingdome of *Naples*, (a great part of *Italy*) and the reasons he hath yeilded of the great inconvenience, and danger, that was in the contrary, to wit, in taking so short a time of probation, as in S. *Benedicts* rule, (not allowing half the space, he now in his best and highest judgement thought to be necessary;) S. *Gregory* gives us sufficient warrant, that his rule and monasteries could not be of S. *Benedicts* order; differing so much in the very entrance, and beginning of their monastical profession. And he doth as plainly condemn that surmised Epistle of one named *Barnard*, an Abbot of *Fundis*, to *Simplicius*, Abbot of *Cassinum*; where it is said, that all the monasteries of *Campania*,

Samnia, Valeria, Tuscia, Liguria, and other Provinces of *Italy*, (*& aliarum Provinciarum Italiæ,*) had determined to keep S. *Benedicts* rule. For here we see by the greatest testimony, and warrant on earth, it neither was, nor might be kept in any monastery, in so great a part of *Italy*, as the kingdome of *Naples* was; where S. *Placidus*, chiefest disciple of S. *Benèdict*, had founded and ruled a monastery before. And S. *Gregories* reasons prove, oblige, and binde for all other places; except where they had concealed S. *Benedicts* rule, in whose approbation S. *Gregory* did dispence in this point.

And although that Epistle were true, that all monasteries there recounted, had determined to receive S. *Benedicts* rule, which they could not do without higher allowance, and approbation: yet this being surmised to be, when *Simplicius* was Abbot at *Cassinum*: (the objectors granting *Simplicius* was not Abbot there, till the year 560, and then continued till the year 576.) all this time was long after S. *Gregories* Institution of all his monasteries, and after his being a professed Monk himself, and in *Rome*, where he was a Monk, S. *Benedicts* rule could not be kept; And it is most certainly true, out of very many of S. *Gregories* Epistles, that for a long time after this, no such places had received S. *Benedicts* rule; but that *Italy* was

Greg. l. 1. Ep. Ep. 40. Anthemio. Ep. 36. Felici Episcop. Messan. Epist. 49. universis Monachis in Christi monte insula. Et lib. 2. Epist. 4. li. 4. Epist. 34 &c.

was then full of monaſteriall, and other rules, far different from S. *Benedicts*; when it was, and as it was confirmed and approved by S. *Gregory* Pope:

Hereupon groweth another great, and moſt certain difference between S. *Benedicts*, and S. *Gregories* monaſteries, and all, wherein there was *biennium*, two years of probation, aſſigned and uſed: for this was to conſider the rule and diſcipline of the monaſteries, where they were to live under that rule. And therefore, as in S. *Benedicts* order, the whole rule was to be read thrice over unto all, that were to enter into it, and profeſs it, at three ſeveral times; firſt, after the firſt two moneths following their entrance; next, after ſix moneths; and laſt time, after two moneths: and then the perſon promiſing to keep all things therein contained, was to be admitted. So (and with more reaſon) muſt we ſay, that in S. *Gregories*, and ſuch monaſteries, where was required more then twice ſo much time of probation, for conſent to obſerve, and keep the rule; a more often reading, and manifeſting of that rule, was uſed to ſuch as were to follow and profeſs it: out of which followeth clearly a great difference betwixt the ſaid rules, and that the rule of S. *Gregories* monaſtery, and others like unto it in point of *biennial* probation, could not be ſo ſoon, nor ſo eaſily learned and aſſented unto, to

S. Benedict. in Reg. cap. 58.

be profeſſed and practiſed (eſpecially when when thoſe rules were not written, but depended on the practical conſtitutions and regiment of the Abbot, as ſometimes they did, but always approved by the Biſhop of the place) as the rule of S. *Benedict*. Otherwiſe S. *Gregory*, that thus generally thought, and directed as neceſſary two years probation in them; would not have confirmed S. *Benedicts*, with probation of leſs then one year, *viz.* forty eight weeks.

After this probation and admittance, we find many, and material differences, not yet remembred, between the rule of S. *Benedict*, and S. *Gregory*: The rule of S. *Gregory* obſerved, and kept, the Roman Eccleſiaſtical office, as it was before S. *Gregories* altering of it, when he was Pope; and afterwards, that of S. *Gregories*: and this they practiſed in his monaſtery at *Rome*, before his Monks comming into *England*, who brought it with them, and here practiſed it; and from them it was received in other places, Monaſteries, and Churches, by all Writers, Forain, and Domeſtical, old and late, Catholicks and Proteſtants: Whereas Benedictin Monks were bound even by vow, to their particular office, allowed to them only by S. *Gregories* approbation, and containing twelve or thirteen Chapters of their rule, which is by odds the greateſt part thereof, as it concerneth religious life, pray-

Joan. Diacon. in vit. S Greg. l. 1. Bed Hiſtoria Matth. Weſtm. Chro.

Regul. S. Benedicti cap. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

er,

er, ſtudies, or devotion. And this in the beginning, as it were of that rule, and firſt to be learned, except the firſt ſeven Chapters, containing things common to all orders and rules of Religion. *De generibus Monachorum. Qualis debet eſſe Abbas? De adhibendis ad conſilium fratribus. Quæ ſunt inſtrumenta bonorum operum? De obedientia Diſcipulorum. De taciturnitate. De Humilitate. Of the kindes of Monks. What manner of man an Abbot ſhould be? Of admitting their brethren to Councel. Which be the inſtruments of good works? Of obedience of the Diſciples. Of Silence. Of Humility:* Neceſſary to be known in all religious orders; and by good men, not profeſſing a monaſtical life: and then immediatly follow, thoſe ſo many Chapters of the particular Church office, and ſervice of S. *Benedicts* Monks; ſo diſtinguiſhing them from S *Gregories*, & all others: and S. *Gregories* Monks, uſing another office not to be expreſſed in a few Chapters from them. Cap. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

This difference of publick Church-ſervice (S. *Gregories* Monks, obſerving that of the Roman Church, obſerved in all Cathedral, Epiſcopal, and other Churches,) did enable the Monks of S. *Gregories* order, and monaſtery, to live with Biſhops in their Cathedral Churches; as in the Apoſtles time, and as his Monks did with him, when he was Pope in *Rome*; and as he directed, and preſcribed them Greg. reſponſ. ad interrogat. S. Auguſt Bed. Hiſtor. Matt. Weſtm. Chron. Capgr. in S. Auguſtin.

them to do in *England*: both the Bishop, his Priests, these Monks, and others, using this one publick Church-service. Whereas the Monks of S. *Benedicts* rule, using their own particular office, neither did, nor could live in such manner; as the *Gregorian* Monks with divers others, might, and did. One and the same chief Church, to whose service all of the same Church resorted, and wherein all used the same service together, could have no more but one; much lesse two so distinct and different one from the other.

Hence, groweth another great difference between the Monks of S. *Gregories* and S. *Benedicts* monasteries. These of S. *Benedicts* rule, being most of them ignorant, and unlearned tradesmen, and bodily labourers, (as appeareth by the rule, and Benedictins common confession) could not sing, and say that office and service appointed by their rule, by themselves, who could not read: but their presence at it, performed by others, excused them in that behalf. But for any thing we find of S. *Gregories* order, and monastery, as he founded it, there was not one ignorant, or such dis-enabled person, but all able, and sufficiently learned in themselves, to perform, say, and sing the office of their order. And for those that were sent into *England*, to preach here, we know, that both they were so able and learned, and

that

that actually they did thus ſing, and ſay their office, as is evident in S. *Bede*, and other Antiquaries, relating it ſo, *convenerunt pſallere &c.*

Bede Hiſtor. Eccleſias. l. 2. Matth. Weſtm. Chr. Capgr. in S. Aug. Henry Huntington Guli. Malms. & alii.

Out of this difference of learned and unlearned Monks, in theſe two orders and monaſteries, muſt needs ariſe a very great diſtinction and diverſity between them, in the diſtribution of their times, the one allowing much time for ſtudies with tutors and inſtructors to attain to learning: the other allowing only a ſhort time too too little for any man ordinarily to prove learned. We are aſſured of the great and extraordinary learning of the Monks of S. *Gregories* monaſtery above others, by this, that being Pope, and having command over all Monaſteries, Colledges, and places of learning and power, in his miſſion to ſend whom he thought beſt for the converſion of *England*, (which required holy, Apoſtolick, learned men) he ſent none out of any other Rule, Monaſtery, Colledge, or place of learning, but from his own in *Rome*, and from that, (beſides, many ſuch men made Biſhops, and ſpiritual Rulers, by him in other places;) he ſent forty into *England*, both learned and miraculous men, as S. *Bede*, with others, and their own moſt memorable labours, employments, offices, holy, learned effects, and performances here prove: ſo many of them being conſecrated Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, and

and made Abbots, as I have by their number and names before remembred.

Whence we must needs say, there was better and greater means assigned, for Apostolick learning, in the rule and monastery of S. *Gregory*, then in any other; and much more then in S. *Benedicts*, where not above three howres and a quarter, at any time, was allowed his Monks for the study of learning, far too little, (morally speaking) to bring forth so many learned men, as were Bishops, and learned Apostolick Preachers and Teachers in *England*, from one only monastery of S. *Gregories*.

S. Benedict. in Regula.

Further, it is most certain by S. *Benedicts* rule, that the officers and tradesmen belonging to his rule, and monasteries, were Monks with the rest, as is evident in many Chapters of his Rule: The thirty first Chapter, *Qualis debeat esse Cellarius monasterii.* So in the thirty third, *De ferramentis Monasterii.* So in the thirty fixth, *De septimanariis Coquinæ*; where the Monks wrought and laboured like Cooks, and meanest servitors in the Kitchin; washing, scouring, serving, and attending weekly by their turns. The forty eight Chapter, *De opere manuum quotidiano.* The fiftieth Chapter, *De fratribus, qui longe ab Oratorio laborant.* The fifty seventh, *De Artificibus Monasterii.* In S. *Gregories* rule, it was quite otherwise, that the Monks might better, and wholly apply

Cap. 31.
cap. 33.
cap. 36.
cap. 48.
cap. 50.
cap. 57.

ply themſelves to devotion, and learning; the Artizens belonging to the monaſtery, were all *Laici*, Lay-men, as they are diſtinguiſhed from Monks, *Monachis*: as the Cooks, Bakers, Carpenters, and others. So in *Joannes Diaconus* his time, it continued there; *Gemmoſus*, *Laurentius*, *Acceptus*, *Andreas*, and others, being the Artizens, *Laurentius*, the Cook, *Gemmoſus*, the Carpenter, *Acceptus*, the Baker. Joan. Diacon. l.4.vit.S.Greg. c.90.

Again, the Monks, Tradeſmen of S. *Benedicts* order, eſpecially ſuch, as made, and wrought ſalable things to be bought, and ſold, might, and did, by their rule, ſell their wares to ſtrangers, for the uſe of their monaſtery, yet ſomewhat cheaper then others ſold; *ſemper aliquantulum vilius detur, quam ab aliis ſecularibus datur.* The monaſtery, order, and rule of S. *Gregory*, which had no ſuch Monks, Tradeſmen, and gave much alms; could not have ſuch ſellers of any thing to others. In S. *Benedicts* rule all the Monks of his monaſtery, did labour and work bodily, very long, and much. *Certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum.* And defineth, that then they are truly Monks, (to wit, of his rule and order) if they live by the labour of their hands: *Tunc vere Monachi ſunt, ſi de labore manuum ſuarum vivunt:* Which the Monks in contemplative and learned orders; ſuch as S. *Gregories* was: neither Regul.S.Benedict.cap.57. Cap.48.

might

might, nor could do such bodily labours, being so great an obstacle, and hindrance to their end, that possibly it could not be obtained, where they were used; especially as in S. *Benedicts* rule, where all the Monks did work bodily, more then they could study by his rule; and this through all the year: *A Pascha usque ad Kalendas Octobris, mane exeuntes à Prima, usque ad horam pene quartam laborent, quod necessarium fuerit, ab hora autem quarta, usque ad horam quasi sextam lectioni vacent*: where they labour three or four howres in the morning, and have not two howres for any man that could read or study: And at, after dinner, they had but two howres to eat and sleep, or rest themselves after; or for them that would, to study: within two howres, *mediante hora octava*, they sung the ninth howre; and that ended, they laboured, and wrought to the evening, *operentur usque ad vesperam*.

From the Kalends of *October*, until *Lent*, they might study but till the second howre, two howres at the most; then saying their third howre, they wrought till the ninth howre. *A Kalendis autem Octobris, usque ad Caput Quadragesimæ, usque ad horam secundam plenam lectioni vacent. Horâ secunda agatur tertia; & usque ad nonam omnes in opus suum laborent, quod iis injungitur.* In *Lent*, they might read or study till

till the third howre, and then work till the tenth howre. On Sundays when they might not work, they might employ more time to reading: *Dominico die Lectioni vacent omnes.* But all this time of reading, or ſtudy, if they had uſed the beſt Tutors and Directors in learning, had been far too little to breed, and train up ſuch ſcholars, as S. *Gregories* diſciples, (whom he ſent into *England*) and others of his Roman monaſtery, were. And therefore we muſt needs ſay, that much more time of ſtudies by great exceſs, was allotted, in his monaſtery, to bring forth in one and the ſame time, ſo many holy, learned, and Apoſtolical men.

And S. *Gregories* Inſtitution, providing abundantly competent means for all his, to live in piety, and learning; without any bodily labour at all, or benevolence from any other, to avoid the ſin of idleneſs in ſuch men, and place; we muſt needs impart, and give all, or almoſt all that time (which was very much) which S. *Benedicts* Monks ſpent in labour, and working for their maintenance, to S. *Gregory*, and his Monks, for their ſtudies, and obtaining vertue and learning. They had no other uſe of ſo long time to be employed, but in ſtudies and devotion. Therefore ſeeing S. *Gregory*, being a Monk, and keeping the rule of his monaſtery, with his other Monks, did according to that rule, ſpend ſo much time in faſting,

prayer

prayer, and ſtudies; as is remembred of him: (*erat ei tanta abſtinentia ciborum ſedulitas orationum, & jejuniorum; ſtudioſitas tam deſiderata ſacrorum librorum*) that it made him ſo weak and feeble, as he was; his faſting taking away no time from his prayers and ſtudies, but giving more unto them; we muſt needs give a far longer time for ſtudies in learning, to S. *Gregories* rule and order, (in more then double, or threefold manner) then to S. *Benedicts*; and yet leave a greater and longer time for S. *Gregory*, and his Monks, to ſpend in prayer and devotion, then was allotted by S. *Benedicts* rule to the Monks thereof.

Joan. Diacon. lib. 1. vit. S. Greg. c. 7.

Wherefore as the Church of Chriſt, and many renowned Writers acknowledge ſaint *Gregory*, and his diſciples to have been the holy and learned Apoſtles of *England*; I moſt willingly, both for theirs, and my noble Country, *Englands* honour, aſſent unto it. But not finding by any ſuch, or meaner warrant, or how by S. *Benedicts* rule and inſtitution, as it was founded, and ordained by him; that either he, or any of his diſciples, following his rule, as he made and left it to be obſerved; were, or could be Apoſtle, or Apoſtles to a far meaner Nation, then *England* is: I dare not ſay, that honor doth or can belong to any of them.

We find in the rule of S. *Benedict*, a chapter, *De Menſa Abbatis*, of the Abbots ſpe-

Regul. S. Benedicti c. 56. 53.

cial

cial table; and his entertainment of ſtrangers there, and his particular Kitchin, and Lodging for himſelf, and ſtrangers. *Coquina Abbatis, & Hoſpitium per ſe ſit, ut in certis horis ſuperuenientes hoſpites, qui nunquam deſunt in monaſterio, non inquietent fratres.* And there were two Monks there, by the year; *in quam Coquinam ingrediantur duo fratres per annum, qui ipſum officium bene impleant.* We find no ſuch thing in S. *Gregories* Rule or Monaſteries; neither in himſelf, nor in any of his Abbots before, or after: but rather quite otherwiſe, as appeareth by the great faſting and abſtinence, of S. *Gregory*, both when he was Monk, and Abbot.

And this great abſtinence of S. *Gregory*, bringing him to ſuch weakneſs, and infirmity thereby, as is teſtified of him; and yet not breaking the rule of his monaſtery, maketh it evident; that there was difference, and not a little, between the table and diet of S. *Gregory*, and of S. *Benedict* ſet down in, and containing three Chapters of his rule; the 40. *de menſura ciborū*, of the meaſure of meats; *de menſura potus*, meaning of their wine; and the third of the howres of refection. *Quibus horis oportet reficere fratres.* Not very ſtrict, or ſcant in any ſort: whereas the abſtinence, and faſting of S. *Gregory*, and his Monks, (*tanta abſtinentia ciborum ſedulitas ieiuniorum,*) was ſo great, that it

Joan. Diacon. l. 1. vit. S. Greg. cap. 7.

Regul. S. Benedicti cap. 40, 41, 42.

was wondred at by them that know, it was not so in S. *Benedicts* rule.

Divers Canons and Chapters in S. *Benedicts* rule, consist of receiving and entertaining guests, and strangers, Lay-men, Priests, and Monks of other orders: as Chapter 53, *de hospitibus recipiendis*; of receiving, and entertaining guests, with their solemn ceremonies. The sixtieth Chapter, *De sacerdotibus, qui voluerint in monasterio habitare.* The sixty first Chapter, *De monachis peregrinis qualiter recipiantur.* Of stranger-Monks, how they should be received. But S. *Gregory*, the best witness of the rule of his monastery, which he had founded, (and after, when he was in Heaven, by apparition, and admonishment thence) doth infallibly witness, that he did not institute his monastery so; but for his own Monks, not for strangers to be entertained there, to trouble them, though they were not only Priests, but Bishops, and had greatest allowance, even Papall to lodge, and be received there; which (as S. *Gregory* nameth it) was to make his monastery unlawfully, an Inn, against his rule and institution.

S. Greg. apud Joan. Diacon. l. 4. c. 94. vit. S. Gregorii.

So he miraculously said, and threatned *Tergundus*, a Bishop, that lodged there. *Cui Beatus Gregorius in somnis apparens maximum terrorem, quo, de suo monasterio concitus egrederetur, incussit.* And the Bishop doubting, whether it was a true vision, and sleeping

sleeping again, S. *Gregory* appeared to him again, in Pontifical habit, threatningly saying unto him; *Did not I say unto thee, that thou shouldst depart from my monastery*, (which with my own goods, by the invocation of S. *Andrew* the Apostle, I have dedicated) because it is not to be made an Inne in any sort. *Cui Gregorius pontificali habitu redimitus apparens; Nonne, inquit, Dixi Tibi, ut à monasterio meo, (quod in rebus propriis per Invocationem S. Andreæ Apostoli dedicavi,) recederes, quia diversorium fieri nullo modo licuisset.* And *Tetgundus* the Bishop, answering, that he had leave to lodge there from the Pope; S. *Gregory* said, *Et tu, qui petisti, & ille, qui dedit, utrique contra Deum fecistis, cujus vindictam citiùs incurretis*: Both thou, who hast asked leave; and he, that gave it, have done against God, whose vengeance ye shall shortly incur. After that, S. *Andrew* also appeared with S. *Gregory*, reprehending him for not obeying S. *Gregory*; and telling him that neither he, nor any that lodged there with him, should ever see their Countrey again. Whereupon, the Bishop presently arising from his bed, revealed this Vision first to them that were with him; then to the Monks of the monastery; lastly, to all he could, and departed thence: *Mox Thetgundus lectulo se proripuit, & primò suis, deinde monasterii Monachis; post vero, qui-*

buſcunque potuit, ſomnium revelavit. Therefore we are made aſſured, that the rules and monaſtery of S. *Gregory*, and S. *Benedict*, did much differ in this matter.

But though *Gregorianum monaſterium*, the Gregorian monaſtery did thus differ from *Benedictinum monaſterium*, Benedictin monaſteries, in not receiving gueſts, and lodging ſtrangers to be troubleſome, and diſtracting to their monaſtical learned profeſſion; yet it gave alms, and relieved the poor and needy in great meaſure, by Saint *Gregories* uſe and inſtitution; and the inſtruments, weights, meaſures, and ſuch like, were both reſerved, and continued there, in *Joannes Diaconus* his time; and with honour, being miraculous. *Hactenus libra, omnisque menſura, quam idem Beatus Gregorius inſtituit, cum modio reſervatur.* And S. *Gregory* did often miraculouſly appear, after his death, in his monaſtery, the Churches of the Apoſtles, and Palace, for the order of his monaſtery to be obſerved, and for other holy admoniſhments and Counſels.

Joan. Diacon. l. 4 vit. S. Gregorii cap. 96, 97. 88, 89, 90.

Moreover, S. *Gregories* monaſtery, order and inſtitucion of it, ſo differed from thoſe Monks, which had been under S. *Benedicts* diſcipline, and came to *Rome*, forced thither from *Caſſinum*, by the *Lumbards*, long after the founding of S. *Gregories* monaſtery; that, (as both ancient and late Writers of S. *Auguſtins* and the *Jeſuits* teſtifie, and

Onufrius Pa. Paulus Moriſius. Jeſ. lib. de Saris ordinib.

and prove) ſuch of S. *Benedicts* diſciples at S. *John Lateran*; (not able to keep S. *Benedicts* rule in that place, and being unlearned themſelves, *did there in place of the Laity, ſing the Pſalms; the Canons regular attending to ſay Maſs, Preach, and adminiſter the Sacraments; being Prieſts, and learned to perform ſuch holy duties:* whereas it is moſt certain by all teſtimonies, that the Monks and Diſciples of S. *Gregories* rule, and monaſtery, both at *Rome*, and in *England*, performed all theſe things by themſelves, without any help or aſſiſtance of any others, of any other order whatſoever: They did Sing, ſay Maſs, Preach, and adminiſter the ſacraments; and here were Apoſtles to this Nation in all things, even at their firſt entrance hither, and after.

Bed. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. in Aug. Capgravius. Matth. Weſtm. in Chron. S. Gregor. in reſpon. ad S Aug. Antiq. Cant.

And this Gregorian monaſtery in *Rome*, as *Joannes Diaconus* calleth it in his time, for following, and keeping S. *Gregories* rule, (as the monaſteries of S. *Benedicts* rule are called *monaſteria Benedictina*, Benedictine monaſteries, for being of, and obſerving S. *Benedicts* rule, and all other monaſteries, named of the rule-giver unto them, ſo take their names, and be named after the rule-givers names;) was thus far, and in ſo many varieties and differences, diſtinct and diverſe from S. *Benedicts* rule in all times. Yea, ſo different from it in the time of *Ioannes Diaconus*, when it was not changed from the firſt

Joan. Diac. l 4. vit. S. Greg. c. 97.

rule and institution of it by S. *Gregory*, that the Additioner to *Ioannes Diaconus* before cited. (as unlearnedly, as they, who would have but to religious orders here in *Britain*, Egyptians and Benedictins; where indeed of all others, neither of them was here,) giving so much to Benedictines in *Italy*, that hee would have no other Latine rule there; yet seeing how distinct, and different S. *Gregories* monastery, and rule of it then was from S. *Benedicts*; saith, it was then a Greek rule or order; saying also it was evident, that it was so changed from S. *Benedicts*, or a Latin rule, which he confoundeth into a Greek rule, wholly differing from S. *Benedicts*. *Constat Gregorianum monasterium à Latinitate in Græcitatem, necessitate potius, quam voluntate conversum.* And he there prayeth, it may come again to be a Latin or S. *Benedicts* rule. *Ita fideliter præstolatur in Latinitatis cultum favente Domino denuo conversum.*

But as this man hath granted, and proved, that now it was not a Benedictin monastery, or of S. *Benedicts* rule; so *Ioannes Diaconus*, and S. *Gregory*, both living on earth, with many others, and from heaven, S. *Gregory* in glory, have made it manifest, that the rule and order there, was never changed. And if it had been at any time of S. *Benedicts* rule, by S. *Gregories* order, decree, and declaration, in the approbation of it;

it; it neither was, nor might be changed, but was perpetually to be so observed. *Præcepi ut diligentissimè observarent quicunque ad conversionis gratiam accessum essent, usque ad finem mundi.* Yea, this Additioner himself, in his words before, calling Saint *Gregories* monastery in *Rome*, *Gregorianum monasterium*, the Gregorian monastery, hath thereby (by what is said before) proved and granted, it was then only of S. *Gregories* order, rule, and institution, and of no other: A Gregorian monastery, could not be an Equitian monastery, Augustinian monastery, Benedictin monastery, nor any other but a Gregorian; nor could any of them be a Gregorian, or any other, but of their own name and nature.

S. Greg. in Approbatione Regulæ S. Benedicti, in privilegio monasterio subla-censi, concesso.

Both to confirm this, and to show further difference between a Gregorian, and Benedictin monastery, S. *Benedict* sets down this prescription; that the monasteries of his order should be so builded, that all necessary things; that is, water, milnes, orchard, bakehouse, and divers Arts should be exercised within the monastery; that that there should be no need for the Monks to wander forth; because it is not expedient for their souls. *Monasterium autem, si posset fieri, ita debet construi, ut omnia necessaria, id est, aqua, molendinum, hortus, pistrinum, vel artes diversa intra Monasterium exerceantur, ut non sit necessitas monachis*

S. Bened. Reg. cap. 66.

nachis vagandi foras; quia omnino non expedit animabus eorum. Both the reason, and founding was otherwise in S. *Gregories* monastery; in a great City, as in *Rome*, at *Canterbury*, and other like places, where such things are not easily, or usually found; and those tradesmen in S. *Gregories* monastery, were not Monks, thus to wander about such things, but they were Lay-officers, and tradesmen.

And yet S. *Benedict* in his rule, consenteth to as great cause of distraction, as this and more; when he maketh it an usual thing for his Monks to work and labour, not only near, but far from the monastery; *De fratribus qui longe ab Oratorio laborant*: when there was neither such near, nor far off, working, and labouring in S. *Gregories* monastery or rule.

Reg. S Bened. c. p. 50.

Again, S. *Benedict* did not only ordain, that his rule should be thrice read to every one before admittance: But it should be often read in the Congregation, lest any of the Brothers should excuse themselves by ignorance of it. *Hanc regulam sæpius volumus in Congregatione legi, nè quis fratrum se de ignorantia excuset.* Which rule was never known to S. *Gregory*, or any of his Monks, till many years after their profession; and neither was, nor could be kept, in his Roman monastery, nor by any at *Laterane* in *Rome*, or such place. And yet by

saint

S. *Benedicts* own rule and confession, even in, and by the last Chapter of his rule, there were in S. *Gregories* monastery better means and a readier way of perfection; then was in S. *Benedicts* order; and he calleth his rule, but a beginning of perfection, in respect of that which was generally used in S. *Gregories* monastery. *Regulam hanc* (saith S. *Benedict*) *descripsimus, ut eam observantes in monasteriis aliquatenus vel honestatum morum, aut initium conversationis nos demonstremus habere: Caterum ad perfectionem conversationis, qui festinant, sunt doctrinæ sanctorum Patrum; quarum observatio perducit hominem ad celsitudinem perfectionis. But for them that hasten to the perfection of conversation, there be the doctrins of the Fathers; whose observation bringeth a man to the height of perfection; for what page, or what speech of divine Authority of the Old and New Testament, is not a most right rule of mans life? Or what book of the holy Catholick Fathers, doth not resound this, that with a right course we may come to our Creator? And also the collations of the Fathers, and their Institutes and lives, as also the rule of our holy Father* Basil; *what other thing are they, but examples of well living, and obedient Monks, and instruments of vertue? Therefore whosoever thou art, that dost hasten to the celestial Country, perform by the*

S. Bened. Reg. cap. ult. 73.

the help of Christ, this last describ'd rule of beginning; and then afterwards by the protection of God, thou shalt come to the greater things, which we have before remembred, the tops of learning and vertues: To them that doe these things, the supernall kingdoms will lie open. Amen.

These be the last words, and conclusion of S: *Benedicts* rule; by which it is evident, that in his religious judgement and proceedings, his institution, rule, and observation thereof, was but a beginning and entrance into perfection; in respect of such order and rule, which with devotion should perform and accomplish those holy exercises, which he hath here named and set down to be the chiefest accomplishment and consummation of perfection: which were most absolutely and truly performed in the Apostolick order of the most learned and holy S. *Gregory*, even from the first choice and institution thereof; ordering and disposing it to such most religious, learned, and perfect end; and so it continued all his life, and most miraculously after his death.

Now if we reflect on what hath been often said of S. *Gregory*, and consider how out of his fatherly love to *England*, since his first knowing what need she had of Apostolick Preachers for her conversion, he provided the Monks of his own monastery, both Italian and English, to be brought up in such a rule

rule as enabled them for so Christian a work. If we also consider the great desire he had of coming into *England* in his own person, and how failing of that, he actually sent such of the aforesaid Monks as he thought fittest for the employment, out of his own monastery, and not out of other else. If again to this we add their happy labours and successes by his rule and direction, disposing them and all Ecclesiastical affairs in this kingdom; we shall easily join our suffrages, and say, that he is (as the Church of *Rome* publickly professeth of him) worthily by S. *Bede* called the Apostle of *England*, *verè à Beda Presbytero Angliæ vocatus Apostolus*. So the Church, publick Councels of *England*, and all holy Writers thereof name him, and the Roman Writer of his life, by the commandment of the Pope then, assigneth unto him the same style of *Englands* Apostle, *Saxonum gentis Apostolus*. Nor was he only Apostle of the Saxons, but also those Monks whom he had formerly ruled in his own monastery, and by consequence as their Abbot, or absolutely, as the contenders themselves for Benedictins confess, writing; *suum, inquit, monasterium rexit, ut proinde jure Abbatis, ab alterius regimine absoluti, & independentis*; those Gregorian Monks (I say) whom he sent into *England*, *vice sua*, in his own stead, he being Pope and Father of all Christianity, as they avouched to King *Ethelbert*,

Breviar. Rom. in S. Greg.

Joan. Diac. in Prologo vit. S. Gregorii ad Ioan. Papam & lib. 4. c. 99.

Apostol. Benedictin tract. 1. sect. 1. pag. 183.

Ethelbert, were also by his mission, and authority, Apostles to the English: So saint *Augustin* our first Bishop of his mission, (S. *Gregories*, and not S. *Benedicts* disciple) is styled in our publick Church service, Canons of our Councels, and holy Writers; and in the time, and of the mission of S. *Gregory*, none were called Apostles of the English, but they.

Werefore, though S. *Equitius* was a very holy, and Apostolick man, and extraordinarily called, and sent by God; that (as S. *Gregory*, writeth of him, in his life,) he so ruled his monasteries, that he went up and down preaching in Churches, Castles, Villages, and Christian mens houses round about, and stirred up the hearts of his hearers to the love of the heavenly kingdom. *Sic monasteriis præesset; quatenus per Ecclesias, per Castra, per vicos, per singulorum quoque fidelium Domos circumquaque discurreret, & corda audientium ad amorem Patriæ Cœlestis excitaret:* And though there were many other learned Apostolick orders then in *Rome* it self, whence S. *Gregories* missioners came, and where his monasterie was seated; as S. *Augustins*, S. *Martins*, that of *Lyrinum*, and others; though again besides those, there were then in *Britain* many others, most renowned and Apostolick; as S. *Kentigerns*, approved by S. *Gregory*, S. *Columba's*, S. *Brendans* of *Glastenbury*, *Bangor* and

Greg. l. 1. dial. cap. 4.

and others; yet neither S. *Gregory*, nor any other Author of Antiquity, or Authority, affirmeth, that any of these, or any such other then lived monastically in S. *Gregories* Roman monastery, whence these his Apostolick Monks, and Missioners came; who as hath been often repeated, had lived according to the rule he had given to his monastery, and had always been the rule thereof. Much more unremembred, incredible, unprobable, and morally impossible it is, that any Benedictin Monks, (such as they have been then described, and proved to have been,) should, then monastically according to their order and rule, (not then approved) have lived in such a Roman monastery. And therefore, I must needs leave the Apostleship of *England*, (as is before invincibly by greatest warrant and authority proved,) to the most holy, learned, Apostolick rule, institution, discipline, and Ordinance of S. *Gregory* the great.

The

The Six and Twentieth Chapter.

The holy, learned Order of S. Columba, *by which very many, or the most parts provinces and persons of* England, *were converted to the faith of Christ; and monasteries founded in many places.*

SAint *Columba*, or *Columkilla*, as the Antiquities of *Glastenbury*, and others tearm him, lived in the time of S. *David*, and S. *Kentigern*, with whom he was intirely acquainted, and joined with him in his Apostolick preaching, and proceedings. This renowned, and glorious man was thus prophecied of by *Marcus*, a disciple of S. *Patrick*, before he was born: *In novissimis* (ait) *saculi temporibus nasciturus est quidam, cujus nomen Columba, per omnes Insularum Provincias divulgabitur; novissima Orbis tempora illustrabit. Erit enim Deo charus, & grandis coram ipso erit. In the later times one shall be born, called* Columba, *his fame shall be divulged through all the Provinces of the Islands,*

Manusc. Anti. in vita S. Columbæ. Capgrav. in eodem veremun Hist. hec. Boeth. Scot. hist.

Iſlands; he ſhall illuminate the laſt times of the world: for he ſhall be dearly beloved of God, and great before him. Which was truly and fully performed in this glorious man, in *Ireland*, *Scotland*, divers other remote Countries, and in *England*; the farre greater part whereof was converted from Paganiſm to the true faith of Chriſt, by his moſt holy, and learned diſciples, in moſt religious and perfect order: For although whileſt under the Britains, their kingdome was the firſt, that generally received the faith of Chriſt; and had many glorious renowned ſaints, and holy religion, without errour or hereſie for a long time; yet as holy S. *Kentegern*, (the great Apoſtolick aſſociat of this Saint) prophecied at the death of S. *David*, it was not to continue ſo long after, but was to decay, and conſequently to need a repairer: *Sciatis quod Britannia tanto lumine orbata, tanti Patris lugubis abſentiam: Know yee, that Britain deprived of ſo great a Light, ſhall bewail the abſence of ſo great a Father and Patron; who, when the Sword of God, for the malice of the Inhabitants, was half drawn out againſt it; expoſed himſelf, that it ſhould not be wholly pulled out, and ſtrike to utter deſtruction. Our Lord delivering, will give Britain over to extern Nations, that know not God; and the Iſle, by Pagans ſhall be emptyed of the old Inhabitants, and the religion of the Law*

S. Aſaph, & Capgr. in vit. S. Kentegern.

of

of Christ, till a prefixed time shall be dissipated in it. But it shall be repaired again into the old state, and by the mercy of God into a better, sed in pristinum statum imò meliorem, miserente Deo, iterum reparabatur.

And seeing S. *Columba* was by so great testimony, both divine and human, a man so glorious and renowned, and by the disciples of his holy order, so great an instrument, in converting the English nation to the holy, Catholick, Christian Religion, and the Christian Saxons, into a better state and condition, then in the time of the Britains, as I have before briefly remembred, and shall more plainly deliver hereafter; seeing also that himself was both an Apostle to the Nothern Picts, and founded his chief, and commanding monastery on our Brittish ground; I cannot lawfully pass over him or his sacred rule with silence, nor yet can I joyn them with either Egyptian, or Benedictin Monks, unknown when, and where he lived in these parts.

He came into Britain with divers renowned men in his company, *Bathenus, Cominus, Cibtharus, Ethernanus, Donritus, Dornitus, Ruthius, Jethuo, Scandalanus, Eoglodius, Totuneus, Moseferus, and Gallanes, in the year of Christ, 565. out of Ireland, where he ruled many monasteries*; ubi haud paucis Patrum monasteriis præfuit. And coming thither when he was forty five years old,

Veremund. hist. hect. or Boeth. Scot. hist. lib. 9.

old, and dying when he was seventy seven, which was about 30 years after his said coming to preach, he could not be either an Egyptian Monk, (such not heard of in *Ireland* then) nor a Benedictin; (S. *Benedicts* rule not then approved or made:) But he lived here with that rule, he professed, and gave to others, after the beginning of the English Church many years; and a while also after S. *Augustins*, and the Romane mission coming to, and living in *England*. S. *Augustin* (by my account before) coming into his designed Province in the year 596, and be living till the year 597, or 598, when, by all agreements (or soon after) the Saxons even in *Kent*, (not the first Converters) had an holy English Church, and an Archbishop, with all inferiour Orders Hierarchical, and other Christians in great numbers. Sigebert in Chro. Anno 598.

And to speak more particularly of the holy Order and Rule he gave, practised, and left in Britain: *Brevi hujus viri sanctitas inter Scotos Pictosque claruit.* His sanctity was in a short time so renowned, especially among the Scots and Picts, that men came flocking unto him, from all parts, thinking themselves happy, if they might but see so great an example of vertue. He gathered together dispersed Monks at that time, and such as wandred alone, placing them in monasteries, which King *Oswal* had builded;

and instituted them in manners and life of no ordinary observation. *Contraxit ii Monachos, sparsos ad id tempus, & Solivagos in unum; indeque per Cœnobia, quæ Conobii Pictas construxerat, distributos, moribus & vita Patrum vulgatæ observationis instituit.* This, *Patrum vulgatæ observatio*, peculiar and proper observation, must needs be distinct from such, as were common and generall; and in his monastery in our British Iland, *Hii*, there was a rule and order which we finde in no other, but S. *Columba's* Order and Institution; *Cujus monasterium in cunctis pene Septentrionalium, Scottorum & omnium Pictorum monasteriis non parvo tempore Arcem tenebat, regendisque eorum populis præerat.* That the Abbot of that his monastery ruled all the monasteries almost of the Northern Scots, and all the monasteries of the Picts, and governed the people also.

Bed. histor. l. 3. c 3.

Antiq. Glaston in S. Columba.

After he had given this rule, he came to *Glastenbury*, in the year 580, and stayed there so long with the Monks of that place that the Antiquities thereof leave it doubtful, whether he died, and was buried there. But S. *Bede*, and others, hold that he died in *Hii*, the little Iland of the Red-shanks, and that the monastery wherein he ended his life, and lieth buried, had Principality over all the monasteries in *Ireland*, and others, erected by his Scholars; and that the Bishops

Bishops of the Country, after an unusual manner, were subject to the Abbot of that monastery, being but a Priest, and no Bishop. *Habere solet ipsa Insula Rectorem semper Abbatem presbyterum, cujus juri & omnis Provincia, & ipse etiam Episcopi, ordine insolito debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi Doctoris illius, qui non Episcopus, sed Presbyter extitit, & Monachus.* Which observation of both the Bishop, and whole Province to be subject to a Priest, was peculiar to his rule and institute. And it seemeth also both by S. *Bede*, and other old Writers, the old Chronicle of S. *Theodore*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, S. *Wilfrid* of *York*, and others; that Bishops in his rule, lived under monastical discipline, and under the Abbot of the monastery; and this rule was approved in that Canon, *Ut Episcopi Monachi non migrent de loco ad locum; hoc est de monasterio ad monasterium, nisi per dimissionem proprii Abbatis; sed in ea permaneant obedientia, quam tempore suæ conversionis promiserunt.* Thus it is testified, and decreed in the Councel of *Hereford*, with the consent of both the Arch-bishops and all Bishops of the land; that such a monastical order was there then, and had been long before; that the Bishops lived under Abbots in monastical Order, and might not go from one monastery to another, without the dismission of their Abbot; but were to

Concil. Herfordiense can. 4. Bed. hi. l. 4 c. 5. Matt. Westm. Chron.

continue in that obedience, which they promiſed at their converſion or entrance into ſuch an order and monaſtery.

So that (beſides others, for former times) we have by the opinion of all the Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and learned men of *England*, that in the year 673, when the ſaid Councel was kept, there was ſuch a religious rule, and order in the kingdom, which was not in S. *Benedicts*, or the Egyptian rule; nor could the ſaid rule be changed by any, though a Biſhop, but by the Abbots allowance. And S. *Wilfrid* (who is ſaid to have been the firſt, that brought S. *Benedicts* rule into *England*, after it was converted,) conſented to this Law, and Decree. *Wilfrid Nordanhumbrorum gentis Epiſcopus per proprios Legatarios affuit*; others ſay, *affuit Archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis Wilfridus*. And being that he, and all others in *England*, of whatſoever order, ſtate, or degree, ſpiritual, and temporal, (*Præſentibus Epiſcopis, Angliæ Regibus, & magnatibus univerſis*) did authentically conſent to ſo general a decree, for monaſtical men of the ſaid Countrey (where, or whatſoever they were) not to go from monaſtery to monaſtery, but to remain in that obedience, they promiſed at their firſt converſion. *Ut Epiſcopi Monachi, or Monachi non migrent de monaſterio ad monaſterium; ſed in eo permanent*

maneant obedientia, quam tempore ſuæ converſionis promiſerunt. Being alſo that *Joannes* Abbot of S. *Martins* in Rome, ſent hither by Pope *Agatho*, was preſent at the ſaid Councel, and approved that as the reſt of the decrees thereof; it doth not appear how S. *Wilfrid*, or any other, could place S. *Benedicts* Monks here, without higheſt Papal Authority.

And our old beſt Benedictin Writers, and all, that write of this matter, (being but two, to my reading) do prove and make manifeſt, that in thoſe days there were no Benedictin Monks in *England*. Theſe are *William* the Benedictin Monk of *Malmsbury*, and another old Monk and Hiſtorian of S. *Auguſtins* in *Canterbury*, where S. *Auguſtin* and his miſſion firſt ſettled, (probably one of S. *Gregories* order, as S. *Auguſtin* was.) The former affirmeth, the firſt Benedictin Monks in *England* came from *Floriacum* monaſtery in *France*, not known (by all Writers, even Benedictins) till 60, and more years after S. *Auguſtins* coming to the Saxons; and the Church of *England*, in honor of that, publickly celebrateth the tranſlation of S. *Benedicts* body to the ſaid *Floriacum*, which the Italians will not do. He proveth alſo that the monaſtery of S. *Wilfrid*, uſed the Gregorian, and not the Benedictin office; that it did not chooſe their Abbots, as S. *Benedicts* rule did, and that

Floren. Wigor. Chrón. Matth. Weſtm. Chro. Sigebert Chro.

it might, and did give many things, which his rule forbiddeth. And he bringeth many Abbots, and monasteries in the Diocess of *Worcester*, near *Evesham*, in, and before the year 675, and so doth Bishop *Leutherius* in his publick grant to S. *Aldelmus*, in the same year. And yet long after this, Pope *Constantine* in his publick priviledge for *Evesham*, saith, that S. *Benedicts* rule was not received in those, or in these parts; *Regula memorandi Patris Benedicti, quæ minus in illis partibus adhuc habetur.*

Guliel. Malms. l. 2. de gest. reg. Leuther. in Privilegio S. Aldelm anno 675.

The other old Monk of *Canterbury* saith briefly and plainly, that S. *Benedicts* rule was first instituted here by S. *Wilfrid*, *Per Wilfridum Episcopum, consanguineum Ercomberti Regis Cantiæ.* And that very many monasteries were founded among the English, before S. *Benedicts* order came to them. *Quàm plurima monasteria fuisse facta, antequam Ordo Benedicti institutus fuit:* Which being the words, and testimony of an approved Antiquary, and Historian of, and for S. *Augustins* monastery in *Canterbury*, where S. *Gregories* Monks and mission were first placed, and long continued; (divers hundreds of years) before any name of S. *Benedicts* order, rule, or Monk, is found there, in any Register, Record, Priviledge, Charter, or Antiquity of that place or any other; and he himself perhaps a *Benedictin* Monk after that order was placed

Antiquit. Can. in Sancto Wilfrido.

ced there; in, or a little before S. *Edward* the Confessors time, before whom there is no Pope nor King that remembreth Benedictins at *Canterbury*; and yet that place had priviledges from many more ancient Kings, and above an hundred Popes after S. *Gregory*; not any one of them naming such Monks there, (either in the time of S. *Gregories* mission, or for divers hundreds of years after it;) nor any private Antiquary or Antiquity: being I say, the words and testimony of that old Monk chosen Antiquary for that monastery, as the use of such places anciently was; and who had perused all Antiquities concerning that place, the Monks and Rule there must certainly be accounted of very great Authority, especially being also warranted by so ample testimony of Pope, Kings, Princes, Bishops, and others, as I have remembred.

Antiq. Cant. Privileg. Pontificum Romanorum monasterio S. Aug. Cantuar.

So that hitherto it is manifest, there was still in *England* saint *Columba* his rule, and order professed, and practised; and by the greatest authority the kingdome had, approved, and confirmed. And in that monastery of saint *Columba*, in our Isle of *Hii*, which was his chiefest, and which ruled all others; the Monks never joyned in the observation of *Easter*, with those that came from *Rome*, (who

by ſome are taken for Benedictin Monks) till the year of Chriſt 716. *Dominicæ Incarnationis Septingenteſimum, decimum ſextum*; about eighty years after the coming of ſaint *Aidan* into *Northumberland*, *annos circiter octoginta, ex quo ad prædicandum Genti Anglorum Aidanum miſerunt Antiſtitem.* And afterwards continued ſtill in their old monaſtical Order governing their monaſteries in the ſame.

Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. ca. 3, 4. Capgrave in S. Egberto.

The

The Seven and Twentieth Chapter.

The holy rule of S. Brendan, *dictated unto him by an Angel, and continuing a long time, and in many Countries; with divers other holy, and learned rules of, and from this kingdom.*

I Have made mention briefly before of the holy rule of S. *Brendan*, and S. *Columban*; who, (as I have also remembred, both from old, and late, Catholick, and Protestant Antiquaries) were disciples of *Congellus*, in the old order and monastery of *Bangor*; which, as they write, was the head of the first, or chief monasteries, and begot many thousands of Monks: *Primorum extitisse monasteriorum caput, & multa generasse Monachorum millia; Columbanus Galliam, Germaniam & Italiam; Brendanus verò Hiberniam & Scotiam monachorum habitaculis implevit.* And to omit others, those two disciples and Monks of *Bangor*, S. *Columban*, and S. *Brendan*, filled *France*, *Germany*,

many, *Italy*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, with habitations of Monks. And though the glory of *Bangor*, was so renowned; yet the name, and noble memory of these two disciples there, and lights of the world in this kinde of splendor, was not confined to the monastery and rule of *Bangor*; but they were, and gave rules of this profession to many thousands, in many nations. S. *Brendan* was first brought up under the renowned Bishop *Hercus*, or *Ercus*; and first learned, monastical, and regular life of *Congellus*, at *Bangor*; then founded a monastery in the Valley *Carnarvan*, in *Wales*, and was Abbot of three thousand Monks: *Trium millium Monachorum Pater*.

Capgrav. in S. Brendano, & S. Machitto.

This blessed man, though at first a professed Monk in the old rule of *Bangor*; yet afterwards, had for himself, and his Monks, a proper rule, dictated unto him by an holy Angel; which continued with observation thereof in Britain, and in other parts in the beginning of the English Church; and untill, or near the end of publick profession of Catholick Religion in *England*; for *Capgrave* within less then two hundred years, with others, witnesseth, it continued in his time. *Brendanus scripsit ex ore Angeli sanctam regulam, quæ usque hodie manet.* Nor was it only dictated unto him by an Angel, but commanded to be written and practised, & called by him, the words of the Religion of God:

Capgrav. in S. Brendano. Bal. l. de Scriptor. de Script. Centur. 1. in Brendan.

God: *Scribe, quæ dicam tibi, verba Religionis Dei.* This Rule, and the Professors of it, were renowned, not only in great *Britain*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, little *Britain*, and other places on this side of the world; but also in *America*, so remote hence, whether he, with divers of his Monks, long time travelled, and where they long continued, often conversing with many monastical, holy men, that had been disciples to S. *Patrick*, long living and persevering in most holy, religious sanctity.

He had many renowned scholars, professors, and continuers of that his holy rule and order; among whom, for these parts, S. *Machutus* a Britain, and S. *Molocus*, a Scot, are most memorable in Antiquities, glorious Monks, Priests, and Bishops, who lived in great perfection, long after S. *Augustin*, and his associats, (sent by S. *Gregory*) their coming into *England*, especially *Molocus egregius Antistes*; who joined with S. *Bonifacius Quiritinus*, a venerable Bishop, (some say he was *Bonifacius* Pope, that succeeded S. *Gregory* in Papal dignity,) coming hither out of *Italy*, *cum piorum cœtu ex Italia*, with a company of holy men; and preached in many Northern Provinces, restoring the faith of Christ much decayed by Pagan *Saxons*, invading those parts; and converted among others, even the children of the *Saxon* Kings of *Northumberland*,

thumberland, that were fled thither: as *Eanfridus*, and S. *Oſwald*, ſons of King *Ethelfade*; and his Chriſtian wife Queen *Acca*; and *Orricus* ſon of *Elfricas*, all three Kings there, after: though *Eanfride* and *Orricus*, forſaking their Religion, reigned but a ſhort time: but holy S. *Oſwald* lived, and happily reigned to procure, and ſee the converſion, not only of the *Northumbrians*, but of divers other *Saxons*, by religious men, for the moſt part of thoſe holy rules and orders, which I have already remembred; eſpecially of S. *Columba* his rule, for them that converted ſo many *Saxons* in their Country; and S. *Brendans*, for thoſe that converted the aforeſaid Princes, and many Engliſh nobles, with others in *Scotland*.

But it may be noted again, according to what I have ſaid once or twice before, that *Northumberland* wanted not Chriſtian *Saxons*, long before thoſe days, and many years before S. *Auguſtins* coming in into *England*: *Elle* or *Alla*, King of the *Deirans*, or *Northumberland*, (much remembred in Hiſtories,) being a Chriſtian, and (by good Authors) the firſt Chriſtian King of the *Saxons*, after their entring *Britain*, converted, and baptized with many of his Nobles, and people by the Biſhop of *Bangor*, *Lucius*; who before had baptized *Olda*, the greateſt Potentate, commanding

Manuſc. Ang. Antiq.
Manuſc. Gallican. Antiq.

ding under that King; and *Emigildis* his wife, with 291 other *Saxons*, at one time; and this, before the birth of *Mauritius*, succeeding *Tiberius* in the Empire, in, or about the year 583. who, (by the Writers of this History, who are very ancient, one of them being a *Saxon*, and writing before S. *Bede*, as great reason leadeth us to judge, and others also of great credit, and Antiquity) was son of King *Elle*; and born in *England* of *Constantia*, his holy, Christian wife, daughter of *Tiberius* the Emperour. Which History, as it giveth proof, that S. *Gregory* was a Monk, long before any Benedictin rule was known in, or near *Rome*; being a monk, when this King *Elle*, was yet a Pagan; and placing then divers young English men in monastical order, who had related, that their King *Elle* was no Christian: so it receiveth credit, and approbation from his fact, in not sending S. *Augustin*, and his mission into *Northumberland*, as he intended when this King was not converted, but into *Kent*, so far distinct, and remote from *Northumberland*, and the *Deirans*.

Sigebert. Chr. an. 583. Matth. Westm. an. 584. Florent. Wig. an. 582. Manusc. Saxon Antiq. & Manusc. Gallic. Antiq.

We find also, that in the Kingdom or Province of *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, there was a Saxon Prince, or King, called *Uffa*, that married the Lady *Argentile*, a Brittish Christian, daughter of *Aelbright*, (styled a King, and a Saxon, as it seemeth) and *Uffa* were

Old English History, par. 5. fo. 52, 53. in Kings Aelbright and Edal.

were sister of *Edel* a Brittish King, and their heir. And it is evident in Antiquities, (as I have made manifest in other places) that all those parts of *England* or *Britain*, had many Christians, at, and before S. *Augustins* coming, and before any men or man, imagined by any to be of S. *Benedict* his rule, made entrance thither.

S. Machutus Rule and Order.

But to return to the other renowned Brittish disciple of S. *Brendan*, named S. *Machutus*; he lived also very long, was Bishop both in great and little *Britain*, many years, and founded divers monasteries of that holy rule, long continuing in honour, even in Forain parts, having been Bishop in little *Britain*, forty years: *Quadraginta annis*; and *per Insulas & loca vicina, monasteria, in quibus multa congregationes Monachorum Deo servire noscuntur, construxit*: *Hee builded monasteries throughout the Islands, and near places; in which, many congregations of Monks, are known to serve God, and disposed his disciples in them, separating them not only from the sight of women, but also from speech with men.* And in *Aquitain* he did the like: So that the thirty three disciples, which he carried out of great *Britain*, with him, were wonderfully multiplyed in those parts: And the holy order of S. *Brendan*, was much dilated there, and continued long after the beginning of the English Church; and after S. *Augustins* coming

Manusc. antiq. in vita S. Machuti Capgrav. in eodem. Bal. lib. de scriptor. cent. 1. in Machuto Breviar. Eccl. Eborac. in ejus festo.

coming into *England*: as he being one of S. *Brendans* chiefest disciples, both in *Britain* and *America*; and, (besides his time of monastical life after,) being Bishop in little *Britain* forty years, do demonstrate unto us.

The like I may say of *Maglorius*, *Natione Anglus*, an English man by birth, as he is styled; scholar to S. *Illtutus*, scholar to S. *German*: S. *Illtutus* flourishing in the year 520. He going out of great *Britain* into the little, was there Bishop of *Dole*: but leaving his See and Episcopal dignity, to S. *Budocus*, returned thence to his old monastical life; had many holy and learned Monks, sixty two in one Colledge, *vita & doctrina sua eruditos*, and of an hard order and discipline: he did only eat barley bread, and the coursest pulse, and that but sparingly: on *Wednesday* and *Friday*, he did eat nothing; he wore hair-cloth continually next his body; he did not drink wine, or any thing, that could bring drunkenness; he did eat a few little Fishes on solemn days: And thus in great austerity, and sanctity, continued with his disciples till his death, in the year 624, by common account, long after the English Church was founded, who not before his death, being admonished by a holy Angel thereof, from that time, till the day of his vocation, always repeated with his mouth, this Verse; *Usque ad diem vocationis*

S. Maglorius his Rule and Order. Surius & Lippe in S. Maglorio die 24. Octob. Sigebert. Chron. an. 566. Molan. Addit. ad usuard. Capgrav. in vit. S. Maglor.

Psalm 26.

cationis ſuæ verſiculum hunc ore ſemper repetiit; unam petii à Domino, hanc requiram, ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnibus diebus vitæ meæ. (One thing I have asked of our Lord, and this I will require; that I may dwell in the house of our Lord, all the days of my life.

Manuſc. antiq. Capgrav. in vit. S. Pirani Epiſcop.

The Rule and Order of S. Piranus.

The holy Biſhop S. *Piranus*, or (by ſome) *Keranus*, a Biſhop in S. *Patricks* time, and living as our Antiquaries remember, above two hundred years, *plus quam ducentis annis*, in very great ſanctity, and auſterity of life; and yet free from ſuch griefs, as trouble old age; had alſo a moſt holy rule and order. In all his life he never wore wooll of ſheep, but skins of Wolves and wilde Beaſts; he never eat fleſh, nor drank any drink, that would make drunken. S. *Piranus in tota vita ſua, nunquam lanis ovium, ſed pellibus Luporum ferarumque indutus eſt; à carnibus & carnalibus deſideriis viriliter ſe abſtinuit, & potum inebriantem non bibit à puritia; even from his childhood to the day of his death, he led his life in great cleanneſſe, praying, reading, doing and teaching, humble, affable, wiſe, ſober, and merciful. He omitted nothing of the commandments of God; He fed the hungry, gave drink to the thirſty; he received ſtrangers, cloathed the naked; he taught Monks to love one another, to direct the eyes of their mind to God, and to deſire the heavenly*

heavenly Countrey: He conſecrated (to ſpeak in the words of Antiquity) innumerable Prieſts, Biſhops, and Clergy-men: *innumerabiles Presbyteros, Epiſcopos & Clericos ordinavit.* He lived monaſtically with holy Monks by *Severn* in *Cornwaile*, where he dyed, and his ſoul with greateſt brightneſſe went to heaven, *tertio nonas Martii cum magna claritate, anima ejus cœlos penetravit.* The great number of his years, and his being one of the firſt 12 Biſhops conſecrated by S. *Patrick*, ſufficiently prove, he lived till after S. *Auguſtins* coming to the *Saxons*. *Ipſe enim erat unus ex duodecim primis Epiſcopis quos ille ſanctus magnus Patricius, qui primò fidem in Hibernia prædicavit, ad prædicandum Evangelium in Hibernia conſtituit.*

The eight and Twentieth Chapter.

The Apoſtolick rule and order of S. Columbanus, *living in monaſtical holy profeſſion in the Kingdom of great* Britain; *with many Engliſh, both men and women, living in the ſame, both in* England *and other Countries.*

I Have briefly remembred before, both from old, and later, Catholick and Proteſtant Antiquaries; that S. *Columbanus* was glorious and renowned in this kind of honour in many Countries beſides *Britain* and *Ireland*. *Columbanus Galliam, Germaniam, & Italiam monacherum habitaculis implevit: He filled* France, Germany, *and* Italy, *with houſes of Monks*. Now to ſpeak more at large of him, and his holy order; all agree, that by Nation he was born in *Ireland*, but by our Antiquaries of *Britain*, brought up, and inſtructed in monaſtical profeſſion, at *Bangor*, in *Wales*; under, and by *Congellus*, Abbot

Capgra. in S. Columbano. Bal. ib. de Scriptor. in Columbano. Bed. ib. Bal. in Congello.

Abbot there: *Sub Congello Britanno monachicæ vitæ professionem in Bancorensi Cœnobio suscepit, & inde in Burgundiam, (teste Beda) cum quibusdam discipulis ibat:* And, as they say of *Congellus*, that he wrote a monastical rule, *regularis vitæ methodum*: and many Epistles to the Fathers of monasteries, *ad Cœnobiorum Patres Epistolas plures.* So they say of S. *Columbanus*, that he wrote and left behinde him to be observed in monasteries, a rule monastical for them to follow, *monasteriorum methodus.*

But *Jonas*, who lived in his time, and wrote his life, saith, that Saint *Columban*, was a Monk. under S. *Cornigellus*, in the monastery of *Banchor* in *Ireland.* S. *Cornigellus* being then famous there for monastical profession. And an old Brittish Antiquity affirmeth the same, witnessing further, that the same S. *Cornigellus*, and S. *Wandilous*, had in that their monasterie about three thousand Monks: *qui habuerunt in eorum Monasterio monachos, circiter tria millia.* But these do not deny, but rather prove, and confirm, that he lived also, and no short time, in *Bangor* the famous Brittish monastery, under S. *Congellus* his rule, the honour thereof; and S. *Columban* his own rule, being chiefly taken thence: For they confesse and acknowledge, that S. *Columban* came from S. *Cornigellus*, and *Banchor* Monastery in *Ireland*,

Jonas in vita S. Columbani.

Manuscrip. Antiqu. de prima Institutione Ecclesiastici officii.

into great *Britain*, (*venit Britanniam*) being not above twenty years old, *vigesimum ætatis annum agens*: and stayed here, till he went hence so famous, and renowned into *France*, with divers Brittish Monks. So we must needs make *Britain* a great Mother, and Foundresse of S. *Columban* his sanctity, and learning, which he was not arrived unto at his coming out of *Ireland*; not being then above twenty years old, too young a time for so learned perfection as he had; and to be such a Governour as he was, at his first entrance into *France* from *Britain*.

Trithemius de viris illustrib. in S. Columbano.

All Writers, even Benedictins in their *Trithemius*, confesse, he was of eminent holinesse, merit, and learning; Father of many thousand Monks, and that he founded many monasteries, and was an excellent sower of the Word of God. *Vir eximiæ sanctitatis, meriti, & doctrinæ*; *Pater multorum millium monachorum, & monasteriorum plurium fundator, Divini verbi seminator egregius.* The old Roman Martyrolog giveth him the like honor of being *multorum Cœnobiorum Fundator, & plurimorum monachorum Pater.* So do all Antiquaries ancient and late, Catholicks, and Protestants, even of *England*, and enroll him among the chiefest renowned Apostolick men, and old Writers of the Catholick Church; To whom, and those of his holy

Martyrolog. Roman. 21. Novembris.

holy order, ſo many noble Nations owe a grateful acknowledgement for their inſtruction and converſion to Chriſt. Nor may they, or any others, (eſpecially that be of the Engliſh Nation) without groſſe ingratitude detract that honour from them; and the learned, holy Colledges, Monaſteries, and Schools, with the rulers and teachers thereof, duly belonging unto the ſaid order; which hath yeilded them ſuch excellent education, and brought forth ſo many worthy men. And the rather thoſe of *England*, who, in their firſt converſion to Chriſt, and founding their Church, received Apoſtolick Prieſts and Biſhops, from places converted by thoſe renowned men: and whoſe monaſticall men, and women, (when *England* had but few monaſteries) in great numbers were brought up, and profeſſed in forain parts in the rule thoſe profeſſed; and in monaſteries both of Monks and Nunns, founded by them. And they agreed with the old Britiſh and Scottiſh Monks and Nunns that had flouriſhed in *Britain*.

The rule of S. *Columban*, was with honour allowed and approved, both by Biſhops and Councels in ſundry parts; and by the Papal authority of Pope *Honorius*, who extraordinarily in thoſe times, exempted all monaſteries of that rule, from the juriſdiction of Biſhops. The Biſhops alſo of *France*, generally received it; and many of them

Jonas in vita S. Bertulphi Abbatis.

Idem in vita S. Buſtaſii Abbatis.

them founded monasteries of the same order, placing Monks in them. *Galliarum Episcopi ad reverenda S. Columbani Instituta aspirant, quorum multi in amorem ejusdem S. Patris ferventes, secundum ejus Regulam monasteria construunt.* Wonderful is the number of renowned monasteries of the order of S. *Columban*; both of Monks and Nunns; which the Bishops, Princes, Potentates, and great persons of *France*, founded there in those days: when, except the monastery of S. *Maurus*, it was hard to find any Benedictin monastery there. And in *Almania*, divers famous monasteries were then builded of the same holy rule by *Columbanus*, and others. *Nonnulla quoque famosa Cœnobia in Alemania construxit*, when neither Benedictin nor Egyptian Monks were known there, or in *Britain*.

No Antiquities remember so many, and noble monasteries of any order, to have been founded there, in *France*, or in any other Nation, in so short a time; and among the rest, we find by Antiquities, that divers of the English Nation, then converted to Christ, and living in great honour, founded monasteries of the rule of S. *Columbanus*, in those parts: And many English, both men and women, (when few monasteries were here) went hence to be professed in that holy rule of S. *Columban*, in those forain parts. Among these we may recount

saint

S. *Barbilda*, that holy Saint, and Queen, wife to King *Clodoveus*, and mother to the Kings *Clotarius*, *Childoricus*, and *Theodoricus*. For the old Writer of her holy life, living in her time, and speaking upon certain knowledge, affirmeth, she was born of a noble race of the Saxons in *England*, and went thence: *de partibus transmarinis claro sanguine Saxonum progenita.*

The old Roman Martyrolog, and others, testifie, that S. *Burgundofora*, Abbesse, and Virgin of S. *Columbans* rule, and order, was an English woman: if it be so, we must say the same of her holy brethren, S. *Faro*, S. *Walbertus*, and *Chalmoaldus*, and their parents *Hagnoricus*, and *Leodegunda*, or at least that they dwelled in *England* when their holy children were born; so of *Agnoaldus*, brother of *Hagnorius*, and *Agilus* his son, though they after are said to have lived in *Burgundy*, when *Columban* lived there: of which, the extraordinary love between them and the English, giveth no little confirmation: for after S. *Burgundofora*, (*Phara*, or *Fara*, all one woman) had founded monasteries of women of S. *Columbans* rule in those forain parts; and saint *Walbertus*, and *Chalmoaldus*, were professed Monks of that order; and S. *Faro* Bishop of *Meldunt*, a professed friend, and Benefactor to the said order, and monasteries thereof; especially those of Nunns, that

Martyrolog. Roman. 3. die Aprilis.

were under his ſiſter *Fara*: *Creſcente fama ſanctitatis ejus, gens Anglorum magna ejus amore incenſa, puellas virgines mittebat, qua ejus opera in monaſteriis Fara, & alio quodam, Chriſto militarent*: the Engliſh Nation having heard of the fame of S. *Faro*, and being greatly incenſed with his love, ſent over their young women, virgins, which, by his help, might ſerve Chriſt in the monaſteries of S. *Fara*, his ſiſter, and in one other: which extraordinary love of the Engliſh Chriſtians to S. *Faro*, and his like love, care, and providence for them, confirmeth, (what is ſaid before) that he, his holy brothers, and ſiſters, were not ſtrangers to the Engliſh Nation. And the rather, becauſe we finde theſe Engliſh Nunns then placed in no other monaſteries, but thoſe of S. *Fara*, or *Burgundofara*, and in one other, *& alio quodam*; which muſt needs be the monaſtery of *Cale*, founded by S. *Bathildis* Queen there, an Engliſh woman; for we are aſſured, that divers Engliſh virgins lived in that monaſtery. The old Writer of S. *Faroes* life, proving they were then brought up but in one other, beſides thoſe which were under S. *Fara*.

Antiqu. Script. vitæ S. Faronis Epmeld. Sur. Lipo. & Haræus in eodem.

Sigebert in Chron. anno 662.

Antiqu. Script. vit. S. Bathildis in vita ejus Bed. Hiſt. l. 3. c. 8.

S. *Bede*, with divers others confirm the ſame, and prove, that there were monaſteries not only of women, but alſo of men founded of that order by S. *Columban*, and his holy diſciples, eſpecially S. *Gallus*. And the

fame

fame of them was ſo great, that before the Engliſh were converted in *Britain*, and whileſt monaſteries were ſcarce there, *antequam in Britannia Chriſtiana Religio dilataretur*, very many, even of the Nobles of the Engliſh, ſent their children, both men and women, to be inſtructed in, and profeſs monaſtical life, in thoſe forain monaſteries of S. *Columbanus* his order. *Soboles ſuas quique nobiles ad antiquam Hiberniæ ſuæ patriam dirigunt Saxoniam, ut ſanctæ fidei gloriam, converſationiſque ſanctæ diſciplinam addiſcerent*; among whom were the renowned noble brothers, S. *Adulphus*, and S. *Botulphus*, two holy ſiſters of King *Ethelmond*, and others. Wallafrid Strabo, Abbas Angiæn. in vit. S. Galli. Capg. in S. Botulpho.

Of the rule which I have particularly here remembred, both the men and women lived together in one and the ſame monaſtery, *in eodem monaſterio*, (as in divers monaſteries of the old rule, they did in *Britain*) as in thoſe of S. *Begu*, S. *Hilda*, S. *Etheldred*, and others: And S. *Hilda* had done in *Gale*, in *France*, before ſhe was Abbeſſe of her order in *England*. And there was the like rule and diſcipline in no other monaſteries in thoſe forain parts, which the Engliſh people then went unto; and wherein they received religious habit, and were profeſſed, whereof divers became Abbots, Abbeſſes, and rulers of others. *Mare tranſeuntes, ſanctorum Cœnobia requirunt, expo-*

Manuſcript. antiq. in vita S. Ebbæ, Capgrav. in eadem. Bed. l. 4. Capgr. v. in S. Hild. Matth. Weſt. monaſt. an. 680. anon. eccl. Elien. Bed. & Capgr. in S. Etheldreda. Capgr. in S. Botulph.

petunt Colloquia, percipiunt documenta. Ibi monasterialibus imbuti Regulis, & arctioris vitæ informati disciplinis, habitum induunt monachalem, & non solum doceri, sed ex gratia Dei inter perfectiores potestatem adepti sunt docendi. Some continued, lived, and dyed such rulers in forain parts; others returned into *England*, and were Abbots, and Abbesses there in such rules, as they had before been instructed and lived in, as S. *Helda*, *Botulphus*, and others.

S. *Helda* had many holy, and learned Priests under her, in her rule and monastery; and divers of them, as *Bosa*, *Acca*, *Ostforus*, *Joannes* and *Wilfrid*, were renowned Bishops of singular merit and sanctity.

Catalog. Episc. Trajectens. Capgr. in S. Botulph.

singularis meriti omnes & sanctitatis viri, as S. *Adulphus*, brother to S. *Botulphus*; and living with him, together with Nunns of *England*, and others, in the same rule and monastery; was for his eminent worthiness preferred to be a great Bishop by the King of those parts: *Sanctum Adulphum audita ejus fama ad Trajectensem Ecclesiam in Episcopum Rex sublimavit.* S. *Gallus*, one of S. *Columbans* disciples, refused the Bishoprick of *Constance*, and preferred his disciple *John* unto it. The German Historians confess, that S. *Columban*, and S. *Gallus*, first preached Christ in *Almania*, and *Suetia*; many others of his disciples were renowned Bishops of great Cities, as *Chagnoaldus*,

Wallafri. Strabo in vit. S. Galli.

Jonas in vit. S. Eustachii.

noaldus, Acharius, Ruchuacarius, Audomarus, and others. He made others of his disciples, Abbots and Rulers in his monasteries of his rule, as *Cominus, Eunacus, Agonet, Garganus, Aglius*, and others. And many of great *Britain* followed after into those parts. No man more beloved, and favoured of Kings, and great Princes, then he was, for his singular piety, love of vertue, hate and severe punishment of sin, and wickednesse; as is remembred in our histories.

He founded his monastery at *Bobium*, in *Italy*, the last of his foundation; instituted his rule there, and dyed, leaving S. *Attila* his successor there, before S. *Benedicts* rule was approved by S. *Gregory*, or he Pope to approve it. So his old acquaintance, disciple, and writer of his life is able to witness; when he assureth us, that his renowned disciple S. *Attila*, succeeded him at *Bobium*; and S. *Eustasius*, at *Luxovium*, and delivered his rule and institutes to the Monks there, when S. *Gregory* was Pope, and when *Mauritius* and *Phocas* were Emperours. *Sub Mauritio & Phoca Imperatoribus, quo tempore Romana Ecclesia Pontifex Gregorius clarus habebatur; nec non & Clotharius Chilperici filius strenue Francos regebat, religiosissimi viri discipuli Almi Patris Columbani Attila & Eustasius, quorum prior in Bobiensi, alter in Luxoviensi*

Jonas in vit. S. Columb.

Jonas Abbas in vit. S. Eustasii Abbatis.

enſi cœnobio ejus ſucceſſores fuêre; & Magiſtri Inſtituta ſuis Alumnis tradiderunt.

How learned this holy rule was, ſufficiently appeareth before; how ſtrict and rigorous, is evident by the moſt abſtinent life of S. *Columban*, and his Monks, living many years together by food of barks of trees, and hearbs. *Novem tranſierunt anni quibus vir Domini cum ſuis non alias dapes caperet, quam arborum cortices, & herbas.* All the Biſhops of *France*, approved it. *Abelenus & cæteri Galliarum Epiſcopi ad roborandam Columbani inſtituta aſpirant; & multi amore beati Columbani, & ejus regulæ monaſteria conſtruunt.*

Capgrav. in S. Columbano.

Jonas in vit. S. Euſtachii, S. Berculphi & S. Columbani.

So it was in *Burgundy*, *Almania*, *Germania*, *Suevia*, *Italy*, and Pope *Honorius* with great honour confirmed it; and both forain and domeſtical, Catholick and Proteſtant Antiquaries, prove unto us, from approved monuments, that among ſo many Nations, as are remembred with honour to have embraced S. *Columbans* rule, and order, many Engliſh men had alſo embraced the ſame, or ſome other more ancient order at home, and in forain Conntries: for they aſſure us, that *Offo* an Engliſh man, did found a monaſtery for ſuch, beyond *Rhyne* in *Germany*, in the year of Chriſts Nativity, 601. *Offo Anglus anno* 601. *Monaſterium Schutenſe ultra Rhenum fundat.* The Engliſh Monks, that

Walafrid Strabo in vit. S. Galli.

Munſter. in Coſmograph. in Germania

Matth. Parker Antiq. Britan. pag. 8.

that were able and worthy then to be Abbots, either in, or out of *England*, must needs have lived, and been monastically taught, and brought up in some order, far more ancient, then any man of judgement will, or can say S. *Benedicts* was in *England*.

Wherefore, if I speak no farther of any old monastical, or religious general, and common rules, or orders in *Britain*, but end with these I have remembred; it is sufficiently apparent, what a great dishonor they would lay upon the most holy and religious kingdom of great *Britain*, that would have Monks, Egyptians and Benedictins to be the first there in those holy times: when of all orders, we cannot finde any of either of them among so many other most holy, Apostolick and learned orders: no Nation of the world, being to be equalled unto *Britain*, in that kind of glory. And as much are they deceived, and have likewise as much wronged the most noble Kingdome thereby, who write and publish, that before S. *Benedicts* rule was received, the Monks of the West, did not live under any particular rule written; but only by traditions and customes, which every Abbot most approved. *Ante susceptam D. Benedicti Regulam, non vixisse monachos Occidentis, sub aliqua scripta norma particulari; sed traditionibus tantùm, & consuetudibus, quas unusquisque Abbas magis approbasset.*

Apostolat. Benedicti tra. 1. sect. 1. pag. 136. 186.

set: For I have exemplified otherwiſe in many other rules. And this alone would ſufficiently prove, that neither S. *Gregory* nor any of his Monks, or Miſſioners to the Saxons, were, or could be of Saint *Benedicts* rule, not received a long time after they were all profeſſed Monks, (by all accounts) in any place, where they ſo lived, or were profeſſed Monks: when no man could be a Monk of S. *Benedicts* rule, even by the very rule and order it ſelf; but he muſt firſt know the rule, and have it three times read unto him, with his conſent to keep, and obſerve it in all points. *Poſt duorum menſium circulum, legatur ei hæc Regula per ordinem, & dicatur ei, ecce lex, ſub qua militare vis: ſi potes obſervare, ingredere.* And, *poſt ſex menſium circulum relegatur ei regula; ut ſciat ad quid ingreditur. Et ſi adhuc ſtat, poſt quatuor menſes iterum relegatur ei eadem regula; & ſi habitâ ſecum deliberatione, promiſerit ſe omnia cuſtodire, & cuncta ſibi imperata ſervare, tunc ſuſcipiatur in congregatione, ſciens ſe ſub lege Regula conſtitutum.*

Regula S. Benedict. cap. 58.

This certain knowledge of S. *Benedicts* rule, and promiſe of keeping it in all things, could not poſſibly be in practice, in perſons and places, where that rule never was heard or known.

And if the rule had been heard, known, or read in *Rome*, when they were made Monks;

Monks; or in *Canterbury*, where, first Gregorian Monks were; the first being the chief City of *Italy*, and the other of King *Ethelberts* dominion in *England*; no Monk could, or might promise to keep it in all things, in those, or such places, in which for very many points expressed in several Chapters, it could not possibly be observed, as manifestly appeareth in S. *Benedicts* rule.

And as for *Canterbury*, and other places of *England*, where the English lived, that were to enter into S. *Benedicts* order, having first heard, and understood the rule diver times read unto them: we are more then abundantly assured, that the said rule being then written in the Latin or Roman tongue, which English men, except the Learned, ordinarily could not understand; and not translated into the English language, which was the only language they understood; for many years after, S. *Augustin*, and the Monks, which came with him, were all dead, and many monasteries were founded, that the said rule (I repeat) of all others could not possibly by the direction of S. *Benedict* himself, and this rule before recited, be admitted there by the English then ignorant (as I said) of the Roman tongue.

And certain it is, that S. *Augustin* and his associats into *Britain*, preached to the English;

English; much by interpreters, and neither preached nor read S. *Benedicts* whole rule or any part of it in English, in which language it was not. And this was the occasion, why (S. *Benedicts* rule being written in Latin,) S. *Gregory* did approve it onely to be kept in those parts of *Italy*, where the Latin tongue was read and understood, *per diversas partes Italiæ ubicunque Latina litera legerentur.*

S. Gregor. in Privilegio Monaster. Sublacens. concesso impress ante Regulam S. Benedicti.

The

The nine and Twentieth Chapter.

Britain, *beſides theſe ſo many renowned, generall monaſterial Orders, more then in any other Kingdom, had alſo many particular monaſterial rules.*

YET I doe not go about to prove, or think, that the noble kingdom of great *Britain* thus renowned above other Nations, for ſo many illuſtrious, general monaſterial rules and orders, had only ſuch, and no particular monaſtical rules, particularly uſed in, and belonging to particular monaſteries, under the rule and government of their particular Abbots and Rulers: for *Britain* alſo had ſuch, and thoſe moſt renowned, both before and after Saint *Auguſtins* coming thither; and both before S. *Benedicts* rule was approved or written, and alſo after it was approved and received, both in *Italy*, and *England*: though not ſo frequent, and in ſo many places, as in ſuch Countries and Nations, wherein there were

not ſo many general and publick religious rules, as in *Britain*.

Caſſian. l. 2. de Inſtitutione monachorum cap. 2. 3.

Caſſianus proveth for *Egypt*, and other places, that there were then almoſt as many particular monaſtical rules, as Monaſteries and Cels. *Tot propemodum Typos & Regulas vidimus uſurpatas, quot etiam Monaſteria cellaſque conſpeximus.* And both he, and S. *Iſidore*, with others, after S. *Benedict* his rule was written; make this manner of rule ſo general, that they deſcribe true monks, uſually to be ſuch as live together in a Congregation, ruled by the judgment or rule of one Superior, or Abbot.

Idem collocat. 18. Iſidor l. 2. offic. Eccleſ. cap. 15.

Cœnobitæ ſunt, qui in congregatione pariter conſiſtentes, unius Senioris judicio gubernantur. The Engliſh Benedictins have cited *Caſſiodorus*, ſaying, that it was thus in *Italy*, and other Weſtern Countries before S. *Benedicts* rule was received. And all Writers of theſe affairs, expreſs the multiplicity of ſuch monaſterial rules, and governments, in places remote from *Britain*.

When S. *Benedict* compoſed his rule, he found but three general rules to take it from, and thoſe in far diſtant places: Saint *Fructuoſus*, his in *Spain*; S. *Baſils*, in *Greece*, and S. *Pachomius*, his in *Egypt*; and in the very firſt Chapter of his rule, defineth a true monaſtery, or congregation of Monks to be, where the Monks live under a rule, or an Abbot: *Monachorum quatuor*

Manuſc. Benedict. antiqu. S. Benedict. in Reg. cap. 1.

genera

genera esse manifestum est, Primum Cœnobitarum, hoc est monasteriale, militans sub Regula vel Abbate; equalling the rule of an Abbot with a publick rule in such things; and both he, and his successors after him; *Constantin*, and *Simplicius*, his disciples, ruled so at *Cassinum*, till his rule was approved and received. So did his disciples, S. *Placidus*, in *Sicily*, S. *Maurus*, in *France*, and *Valentinian*, in the monastery of S. *John Lateran*, in *Rome*: none of the places where they governed, being named S. *Benedicts* monastery, or of his rule, (though ruled by Abbots, that were his chief disciples, his rule not being then approved or written) but the monasteries named S. *Placidus* his monastery, S. *Maurus* his monastery, and the monastery of *Lateran*, governed by *Valentinian*: And the Monks in the same; Monks of the rule, and discipline of S. *Placidus*, S. *Maurus*, and *Valentinian*, Abbots and Rulers in them.

And except S. *Gregory* himself, that well knew *Rome*, and the *Lateran* monastery, be deceived, making there but one monastery, it is certain that the said *Lateran*, (as both Protestant and Catholick Antiquities do witnesse) was of S. *Augustins* order; Pope *Gelasius* having placed *Augustine* Monkes there, who continued then, and for many hundred years after.

Greg. dial. l. 2.

Grimston, book of estates in religious order. Onuf. Pan. 16.

The Church of *Rome*, in the life of Saint

Breviar Rom. in correct in vita S. Placidi Breviar. ante correction. per Clement. 8.

Placidus, doth prove that his Monks in *Sicily*, did not live under the rule of S. *Benedict*, *ſub regulam ſancti Benedicti*; for ſhe hath blotted that out of his life, wherein it was ſo read before, that S. *Placidus* had there gathered 30 brethren under the rule of his Father S. *Benedict*, *ubi 30 fratres ſub Patris ſui Benedicti regulam aggregaſſet*. The life alſo of S. *Maurus*, written by *Fauſtus*, his aſſociat Monk, calleth the diſcipline of S. *Maurus* monaſtery, S. *Maurus* his diſcipline; and in like manner, the Monks thereof, Monks of S. *Maurus* his diſcipline.

Breviar. Rom. & Fauſtus in vita S. Mauri.

And indeed the firſt Monk, that we finde in *England*, (by any Antiquities we have, to my reading,) to have lived in any monaſtery of S. *Benedict*, is one named *Benedictus*, in the Antiquities of *Wincheſter*, ſaid there to have been a Monk of *Caſſinum*, (which was utterly deſtroyed about, or before the miſſion of S. *Auguſtin*, and lay deſolate for a long time) and to have come into *England*, with S. *Birinus*, in the time of Pope *Honorius*, in the year thirty eight, after S. *Auguſtins* coming thither. *Anno triceſimo octavo poſt ingreſſum Sancti Auguſtini in Angliam, prædicare cœpit Sanctus Birinus Weſt-Saxonibus*: but he never joyned with any Monks there, till about the year of Chriſt, 648. Then by S. *Birinus*, he was placed in the ancient monaſtery of *Wincheſter*, among the old Britiſh Monks, driven thence

Antiq. Eccleſ. Wintonienſis. Capgr. in S.

Birino Sur. & Haræus in eodem.

thence by Pagans, and was ordained a *Præpositus* among them.

This was long before S. *Wilfrid*, (who first gave S. *Benedicts* rule in *England*,) did or could give it any where in those parts, where Pope *Constantin*, and others prove S. *Benedicts* rule was not for a long time after: whence wee must needs say, that though he had long before been of *Cassinum*, (the chief monastery of S. *Benedict*) yet he was now, and long time had been a stranger to S. *Benedicts* rule, from the year of Christ 596, (when *Cassinum* was destroyed, and many of those Monks, with S. *Benedicts* rule fled to *Rome*) till the year 648. fifty two years; never in all this time (for any thing we finde in any Antiquities) conversing with Benedictin Monks; and now after so long time, onely with our Brittish Monks, and no other. And being it was so long since he had lived at *Cassinum*, we must consequently say, he was then a man, and Monk, far too young to be so perfect a monastical man in that order, as afterwards (never having seen or read that rule in all that while) to be a *Præpositus* in that rule to others. Nor indeed could S. *Benedicts* rule be professed or observed in a City, as hath been often said, even by the rule it self, and by the testimony of so many *Cistertian* Abbots, the Pope himself, and others as I have already cited.

Marian Scot. anno 596. Sigebert Chro. Matt. Westm. Chron. an. 596

S. Benedict. in Regul. Abbates Cistertienſ. Papa Eugenius ſub ſigillo. Sigebert Chr.

Wherefore I cannot see, but that we must needs hold, that this *Cassinum* Monk, and his fellow Monks of *Winchester*, (where S. *Benedicts* rule could not be kept) lived there in a particular monasterial rule; as S. *Placidus*, S. *Maurus*, and *Valentinian*, did in *Sicily*, *France*, and *Rome*. And of all orders or rules, most certain it is by greatest testimony, that they lived not in, or according to S. *Benedicts* rule; for *Winchester* being within the Diocesse of S. *Birinus*, at *Dorchester*, in *Oxford* shire, near *Evesham* (those places being by all computation, in the same parts) Pope *Constantin*, by his publick Bull, for the founding of a monastery at *Evesham*, (above fifty years after this *Benedictus* was a *Præpositus* of Monks, at *Winchester*; and after that those parts had many monasteries, with Monks and Abbots in them,) testifieth most plainly, with many other great witnesses, that the rule of saint *Benedict*, was not in those parts, till then, nor any Monks or Monastery of that rule, *in illis partibus*.

I add, that if we should refer this matter to S. *Birinus*, the holy Apostolick Bishop, who placed the said *Benedictus* with the Brittish Monks at *Winchester*, (such things then, and long after, in *England*, being in the disposition of Bishops) and withall say, that they lived not in a monasterial particular rule, but in some general rule; we must

rather

rather holſt they lived in, and according to S. *Auguſtins* rule of Canon regulars, then any other: for we finde, that S. *Birinus*, did place men of that order, even in his Cathedral Church or Monaſtery at *Dorcheſter*, *Canonicos regulares inſtituit apud Dorceſtriam, ab Oxonia milliaribus ſeptem diſtantem.* Thus both old, and later, Catholick and Proteſtant Antiquaries, even Benedictin old Writers are witneſſes unto us. But we do not finde that he or any other, placed Benedictins in thoſe parts, or that they were in any place in *England*, till the time of S. *Wilfrid*, and Pope *Conſtantin*; a long time after, when both thoſe parts, the Diocеſs of S. *Birinus*, and all or moſt Countries of *England*, were repleniſhed with Monks, and monaſteries of other rules, and orders.

Guliel. Rameſienſis in vit. S. Birini Surius, & Haræus in eodem Bal. citat. in Apoſtolat. Benedi. tract. 1. ſect. 1. pag. 83.

And being moſt certain by thoſe Antiquities of *Wincheſter*, that this *Benedictus* was, by the Biſhop of S. *Birin*, conſtituted only a *Præpoſitus*, and not Abbot there, as it maketh it moſt certain by the rule and order of S. *Benedict*, (wherein Abbots, not *Præpoſiti*, were to rule) that thoſe Monks were not of S. *Benedicts* order: So it confirmeth, by our new Benedictin Monks themſelves, that they were, and needs muſt be of S. *Auguſtins*, or a monaſterial order under the Biſhop; for thus they teſtifie with common conſent: *Auguſtinos Eremi-*

Regul. S. Benedict. ca. 1. 64, 65.

Apoſtol. Benedict. tract. 1. ſect. 1. p. 119.

tas, ex Regulâ ſuæ præſcripto, quam profitentur, quam aiunt ab Auguſtino viris datam à Præpoſitis gubernari debere conſtat, ut nunquam Abbates habuerint: & ipſi eorum Præpoſiti in rebus gravioribus ad Presbyterum, qui nomine Epiſcopi, tam Præpoſiti quam Monachorum erat inſpector, recurrere debuerint. Whereas by S. *Benedicts* rule, a *Præpoſitus*, hath no ſuch power, rule, or government, (he, and all being under the Abbot) as they acknowledge it was in the Rule of S. *Auguſtin*; and our *Wincheſter* Antiquities aſſure us of this *Benedictus*, *Præpoſitus* there, by Apoſtolick and Epiſcopal Order and Inſtitution.

I have exemplified in this *Benedictus*, firſt, becauſe he is the firſt Monk of *Caſſinum*, or any other place, belonging to S. *Benedicts* rule or order; that I find by our Antiquities to have been in *England*, though ſo long after S. *Auguſtins* and his aſſociats miſſion; and coming from S. *Gregory* thither. Secondly, for that being a confeſſed Monk of *Caſſinum*, S. *Benedicts* chief monaſtery, he neither did, nor could live in *Wincheſter*, a great City, (as *Canterbury* was in *Kent*, where S. *Auguſtin* and his aſſociat monks lived) according to the rule and order of S. *Benedict*. Thirdly, becauſe he lived in the Epiſcopal Pariſh, or Dioceſs of the Weſt-Saxon Biſhops then; in which parts, as by the greateſt teſtimony we can

have

have of a Pope, and Kings, with their Bull and Charters; the rule of S. *Benedict* was not received of long time after; and then, first, at *Evesham* in *Worcester* shire, when those parts had many Monks, Abbots, and Monasteries; as both our ancient Benedictin Monks, Bishops, and others prove unto us.

Bishop *Leutherius*, (some call him *Eleutherius*) *Pontificatus Saxoniæ gubernacula tenens*, in his publick grant to S. *Aldelmus*, making him Abbot of *Malmsbury*, proveth there were many Abbots of that his Parish, who sollicited him unto it; and thus proveth, they lived by monasterial rules, (not by general rule or rules,) but under the Bishops authority. *Rogatus sum ab Abbatibus, qui sub Jure Parochiæ nostræ Cœnobiola Monachorum agmini pastorali sollicitudinem præsse noscuntur.* And the Bishop of that Diocess then, and after, did place and appoint the Abbots, so to rule monastically under him, which is far otherwise, then in S. *Benedicts* rule. Thus among other monasteries, he granted the government monasterial of the monastery of *Malmsbury* to S. *Aldelm*, and his successors Abbots. *Quapropter prædictorum Abbatum precibus annuens, ipsum locum tam sibi, quam successoribus suis Normam S. Regulæ solerti devotione sequentibus, fraterna petitione coactus, ultroneus concedo. Acium*

Leutherius Episcopus West-Saxon. in Charta S. Aldelmo an. 675. Gul. Malms. lib. 1. de gestis regum.

etiam publicè juxta flumen Bladon 8: Kalen. Septembr: Anno Incarnationis Domini 675.

Our Antiquities set down many of the monasteries in those parts, and very near unto *Evesham*; in particular, *Malmsbury*, *Almsbury*, *Dorcester*, *Abington*, *Bosenam*, and others, too many to be particularly remembred: and among the rest there was one or more hard by *Evesham*, where S. *Egwine*, (who was a great and chief Agent for the founding of *Evesham*, the first in those parts for Monks of S. Benedicts his rule) was both Monk and Abbot in *Worcester* shire, *in territorio Wigorniensi extitit vir religiosus nomine Egwinus regali ex Prosapia ortus*; and he, *inadolescentia* even in his youth, entred there into religious life, and was consecrated Bishop in the year 693. where may be noted, that there was no small time between this mans youth, and being Bishop, and founding *Eveshams* monastery in the reigns of King *Offa* and *Kenred*, and the Papacy of Pope *Constantin* by all accounts, testifying in their publick Charters and Bull, that saint Benedicts rule was not any where in those parts till the founding of that monastery, according to that rule received; *Quatenus ibidem congregatio Monachorum, secundum regulam memorandi Patris* Benedicti, *quæ minùs in illis partibus adhuc habetur, possit instaurari*

Manuscrip. Antiqu. in vita S. Egwini. Capgr. in eod. Guliel. Malm. in S. Egwino.

rari, & indefinenter Christo famulari.

If we assent to the contenders for Benedictins themselves, they will, and must allow, that all or most of the English monasteries, following the Brittish and Scottish Monks, were monasterially governed by Abbots, or Abbesses. *Monachos & moniales Scotorum & Britannorum, ab Abbatibus & Abbatissis gubernari consuevisse*, by onely monasterial particular rules, and not general. Yea, if we should but consent with them onely in this, that there were many such monasterial Regiments, both among the Britains and Scots, (we do not find their particular Abbots and Abbesses gon so far as *Egypt* to fetch rules; but to have learned them at home in *Britain*, where they had their monastical institutions in monasteries under particular, and not general rules.) Yet we must needs say, there were too many to be numbred in this place: and so they did continue, not only among the Britains and Scots, but English also for a long time after their generall conversion; without any place left either for Egyptian or Benedictin Monks among them.

Apostolat. Benedictin. in Anglia tract. 1. sect. 1. pa. 119.

Concerning which, not only the particular Historians and Antiquities of *England*, but even the publick councels thereof, with the consent and testimony of all their Bishops do both prove and confirm to be afterward observed; that such Monks in places as their juris-

jurisdiction, as had professed monastical life under Abbots in monasterial rules; should not leave any such monasterial rule, or order, which they had first professed, to go to any other place or order, as I have said heretofore out of that Canon. *Ut monachi non migrent de loco ad locum, sed in ea permaneant obedientia, quam suæ conversionis tempore promiserunt*; which Decree (related by S. *Bede*) bound even Bishops, that they might not go from one monastical rule to another, unless dismissed by their proper Abbot; for thus it goeth, *Quartum Capitulum, ut Episcopi Monachi non migrent de loco ad locum, hoc est de monasterio ad monasterium, nisi per dimissionem proprii Abbatis, sed in ea permaneant*; as I have noted once or twice, *c.* 25. where I have also observed, that the Councel wherein that Canon was made, was celebrated under S. *Theodore*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, with all the Bishops of the Land; and S. *Wilfrid* Arch-bishop of *York*, being present either in his own person, or by his Legats, and consenting to the Decree: which *Wilfrid* publickly witnesseth, that he was the first that in *England* delivered to any Monks, the rule of S. *Benedict* to be observed or followed, *se primum fuisse, qui verum Pascha in Northumbria Scotis ejectis docuerit; qui cunctos Ecclesiasticos antiphonatim instituerit; qui sanctissimi Benedicti regulam à monachis obser-*

Concil. Herefordiæ anno 673. can. 4. Matth. Westm. Chron. an. 673 Bed. Hist. l. 4. c. 5.

Heresor. Concil. in præfat. Bed. Eccles. Hist. l. 4. c. 5. Mat. Westm. Chr. an. 673. Wilfrid. orat. in conventu publico. Guli. Malms. l. 3. de gest. Pont. Anglic. Hist. Cantuar. Manuscrip.

observari jusserit; and thereby sufficiently proveth, that the first receiving of S. *Benedicts* rule in any place there, was after the time of the said Councel held in the year 673 of Christ, seventy seven years after S: *Augustins* coming to *Canterbury*.

For, as appeareth before by his own publick stimony, it was after he had first settled the Ecclesiastical Roman Office in his Dioces; when he was Arch-bishop; S. *Bede* witnessing, that next unto *Jacobus* the Deacon (one of S. *Augustins* mission, that went into *Northumberland*, with S. *Paulinus* in King *Edwines* time;) one *Eddi Stephanus*, called out of *Kent*, by S. *Wilfrid* Arch-bishop, did first teach, that Ecclesiastical order in *Northumberland*, only used in *Kent* before; and certainly received from S. *Gregories* order. *Sed & sonos cantandi in Ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantia tantum noverant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum Ecclesias discere cœperunt; Primusque excepto Jacobo, de quo supra diximus, cantandi Magister Nordanhumbrorum Ecclesiis, Eddi Cognomento Stephanus fuit; invitatus de Cantia à Reverendissimo viro Wilfrido; qui primus inter Episcopos, qui de Anglorum gente essent, Catholicum vivendi morem Ecclesiis Anglorum tradere didicit.* Where it is most evident, that then in the time of S. *Theodor*, and not before, the Gregorian Church-office, (used in saint Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. ca. 2.

Grego-

Gregories monaſtery, in all *Rome* and *Italy*, and in *England*, only in *Kent*, by S. *Gregories* miſſioners, and Monks ſent thither) was received by all Churches of the Engliſh; but firſt and chiefly in *Northumberland*, by S. *Wilfrids* means.

And this ſufficiently proveth unto us, that then there was no Church or monaſtery in *England*, either of any general or monaſterial rule, or order, that had received S. *Benedicts* rule; particularly and only bound, and tied to the proper office of that his rule and order, containing above the ſixth part of the Decrees or Chapters thereof; tying his Monks unto it, and S. *Gregory* Pope when he approved the rule, did appropriat that office to S. *Benedicts* monks only; writing, and publiſhing another Church-office for all others, both Monks and others: and this was it which was now received in all the Engliſh Churches, Monaſteries, and other places; nor can I ſay leſſe, then that both old and late Writers, Britains, and others, with the continual practice and obſervation of Benedictin Monks, their congregations; and all witneſſes prove unto us, that Benedictin Monks neither did, nor might uſe or practiſe any other, but their own Benedictin office, contained in their vow and profeſſion to be obſerved of them, with the reſt of that rule, as appeareth in the Canon of their admiſſion; where after thrice reading the whole

S. Benedict. in Reg. S. Greg. l. 2. Dial. Manuſcript. Brit. antiqu. Walafrid Strabo lib. de rebus Eccleſ. c. 25. Antiq Glaſtonienſ. Guliel. Malmſ. Capgr. in S. Patricio.

S. Benedict. in Reg. cap. 58.

whole rule unto those, that would enter into that order, at three severall times, after divers months distance, before they are admitted, they promise to keep all things contained in the rule, and were not otherwise to be admitted into that order:

Relegatur ei regula, (saith that Canon once cited heretofore,) *Ut sciat ad quid ingreditur, & si adhuc stat, post quatuor menses iterum relegatur ei regula; & si habita secum deliberatione promiserit se omnia custodire, & cuncta sibi imperata servare, tunc suscipiatur in congregatione; sciens se sub lege Regula constitutum, quòd ei ex illa die non liceat egredi monasterio, nec collum excutere de jugo Regulæ; quàm tam morosa deliberatione licuit recusare aut suscipere:* where binding themselves to keep all parts and Chapters of their rule, (it consisting of 73.) they were much more bound to keep that order in this chief distinctive point, containing more then the sixth part of that rule: (thirteen Chapters of 73.) and to this the Priests of that order were also bound, or not to be Monks thereof. *Si quis de ordine sacerdotum in monasterio se suscipi regaverit; sciat se omnem Regulæ disciplinam servaturum nec aliquid ei relaxabitur.* If the whole discipline of that rule, was to be observed, even by the Priests, who must needs be chiefest in the Church-office thereof; surely no such could be of that rule, but

S. Benedict. regul. cap. 8, 9, 10 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

& cap. 60.

but they must needs observe the Church-office of the rule, this being so great a part of the discipline thereof. So it is with our English Monks at this day, that profess themselves to be of S. *Benedicts* order; they use another Breviary, and Ecclesiastical office, then other Priests of the Clergy, or other Orders in the Roman Church do: and so it was ever since S. *Benedicts* time, to these days with the Priests and Monks of his rule and order.

Out of all which it is evident, that neither S. *Augustin*, nor any of those Monks, sent into *England*, by Saint *Gregory*, nor any of the first Monks in *Kent*, in monasteries of English foundations, were, or could be Benedictin Monks. But if we should not reckon S. *Gregories* rule or order a general and common order in those days, we must make those Monks and Monasteries in *Kent*, (or, elsewhere in *England*, derived from them) to be of particular monasterial orders, governed by their proper Abbots and Abbesses, *ab Abbatibus & Abbatissis gubernari consuevisse*, (as the contenders for the Benedictins, at S. *Augustins* coming to *Kent*, have thought before of the Brittish and Scottish Monks, and Nunns;) and so join S. *Gregories* monks more near to the old Monks in *Britain*, making them monasterial Monks only, under the rule of the Abbot; and not under any general rule, espe-

especially not under S. *Benedicts*, from which, of all others, they were ever so different, that in the chiefest business of a Monk, to wit, prayer, and devotion, both publickly and privately, they were far from all agreement with them, and were most separated and divided from them, by all witnesses.

And S. *Gregory* his constituting S. *Augustin* Abbot of his English missionary Monks to be obeyed by them in all things, as their rule and ruler, with his command or admonition accordingly observed; *Augustino (quem Abbatem vobis constituimus, in omnibus humiliter obedite; facientes hoc vestris animabus profuturum, quicquid à vobis fuerit in ejus admonitione completum,)* giveth no little strength unto this, that the rule of them was monasterial by the Abbot, and not general; otherwise, the Abbots command, if against the rule, was not so strictly to be observed in all things. And thus S. *Gregory* commended S. *Augustin* to King *Ethelbert*, to be learned in a monasterial rule or government. *Augustinus in monasterii regula doctus.* And so he, and his Monks lived in *England*, according unto the Apostles life, in the Primitive Church, as soon as they had a resting place there assigned unto them, and not according to any late general monastical rule. *At ubi sibi datam mansionem intraverunt, cœperunt Apostolicam Primitivæ Ecclesiæ vitam imitari.*

S. Greg. Ep. ad Monachos in Ang missos. Bed. Hist. l. 1. cap. 23. Capgrav. in S. Aug.

S. Greg. Epist. ad Regem Ethelbertum. Bed. sup. c. 32.

Bed. sup. l. 1. c. 37.

tari. And this manner of monaſterial life, did S. *Auguſtin* inſtitute, in his firſt Monaſtery and Cathedral Church, and in other Churches Epiſcopal, by S. *Gregories* direction, and his own perfect knowledge in the rules of monaſteries: *Fraternitas tua monaſterii regulis erudita, hanc debet converſationem inſtituere, quæ initio naſcentis Eccleſiæ fuit Patribus noſtris.* Here the direction is to S. *Auguſtin*, to inſtitute according to the Primitive Church, and not any late order.

S. Greg. Reſp. ad interrogat. S. Aug. reſpon. 1.

Bed. Hiſtor. l. 1 c. 28. Copgr. in S. Aug.

Wherefore being thus certain, firſt, that S. *Auguſtins* monaſtery, Church, and monaſterial rule, in *Kent*, did differ from ſaint *Benedicts* general rule in Church-ſervice, ſituation, and otherwiſe: Secondly, that other Monaſteries and Churches in *Kent*, and whereſoever, joining with S. *Auguſtines* rule and inſtitution, did ſo differ from ſaint *Benedicts* rule, that they could not poſſibly live monaſtically together in one monaſtery, rule, and order: and thirdly, that all the monaſteries of *England*, whether of general or monaſterial rules, did in S. *Theodores* time, generally join with S. *Gregories* Monks, and Miſſioners, in ſo great and material a diſtinction, from the Monks of S. *Benedicts* order: It would be ſuperfluous labour to ſeek, or ſet down in particular, all, or moſt of thoſe that diſagreed from S. *Benedicts* uſe, rule, and order, in ſuch great differences.

ces. It will abundantly here ſuffice, to ſet down ſuch monaſteries, and chief monaſtical men, as the contenders for Benedictin Monks would have to be of that rule; and prove, that they did all differ in ſuch eſſential points from S. *Benedicts* order, and Monks; (and that with the greateſt bond, and obligation of Clergy, and monaſtical men;) to wit, in their Eccleſiaſtical office, and Church-ſervice; that they neither did, nor might, by their Degree, Order, and profeſſion, communicate together in their uſe and manner of ſerving God. The office of S. *Benedicts* Monks, being ſo different from all others, and peculiar to themſelves, as is manifeſt in his rule, and by S. *Gregories* approbation of it, only for his Monks and order, as all do witneſs.

The Thirtieth Chapter.

That not any one Monaſtery, Monaſteriall Church, or Monaſtical man, urged by the late contenders for Benedictins, *till about an hundred years after S.* Auguſtins *coming into* England, *was, or could be of S.* Benedicts *rule or order.*

TO make this more plain and manifeſt, eſpecially by theſe men themſelves, I muſt here briefly relate all their named demonſtrations, proofs, and arguments, which they uſe to uphold their opinion, that S. *Auguſtin*, and his aſſociats, ſent hither by S. *Gregory* out of his monaſtery in *Rome*, were Benedictin Monks; and ſhew, that not any one of them (being twenty one, or twenty two in number) concludeth, or proveth any ſuch thing.

Their firſt named demonſtration in this matter, that the firſt Apoſtles of *England* were Benedictin Monks; *Primos Angliæ Apoſtolos, & magiſtros fuiſſe Monachos Bene-*

Benedictiner; is taken from the common tradition of English people; *facillimè demonstratur ex ipsa communi traditione populi Anglicani.* But it is evident before, both by tradition of English people, and otherwise, that these their learned first Apostles of *England*, did not use the Benedictin office, but another quite different, which Benedictins neither did, nor might use by S. *Benedicts* rule, in so many Chapters thereof, as I have cited before. And our Protestant four Antiquaries, their Testators, make it so far from the tradition of the English people, that they were Benedictins, that they say plainly the time of Benedictins first coming into *England*, is unknown; yet the time and year of S. *Augustine* and his associats coming thither, is most certain, both by tradition, and all evidence; yea, one of them writeth plainly, that no Writer of English affairs, doth plainly say, (*minime disertis verbis alicubi, &c.*) in any place that S. *Augustin* was a Benedictine Monk. But they, and all even late Benedictins, agree in this, that it is a common tradition, that those Monks were Monks of S. *Gregories* monastery in *Rome*; and that both there, with the rest of that monastery, and after their coming to *Kent* in *England*, did use the Roman and Gregorian office; and (as is said before) from them, that office was received by all Churches, and Monasteries

Selden. not. ad Eadmer. p. 215

nasteries in *England*, before the office or rule of S. *Benedict* came thither.

This answereth their next probation, by supposed induction; first, from King *Henry* the eighth, to *William* of *Normandy*, from him to King *Edgar*, and from King *Edgar* to *Ethelbert*, and S. *Augustin*. For, out of what hath been often repeated, it is evident, there was no such thing in *Ethelbert* and S. *Augustins* time: the other later times be to no purpose, all men grantings that both Benedictin monks, and many later orders, were in *England* in those days.

Their next called demonstration, *alia demonstratio*, is from the Benedictin profession, *à monachatu Benedictino*, of the chief masters of *England*, *Aldelmus* Bishop of *Shirburn*, S. *Bonifacius*, and S. *Willibaldus*, with their fellow Apostles of *Germany*. S. *Wilfrid* Arch bishop of *York*, S. *Benedict Biscop*, venerable *Bede*, and great *Alcuine*. To this I answer; and first, to that concerning S. *Aldelm*, that he being a Monk under *Maildulphus*, a Scot, of the Scottish order at *Malmsbury*, using there the Scottish office, till it received the Gregorian office, afterwards in S. *Theodores* time, could not be a Monk of S. *Benedicts* order, whose office, if they had formerly used, they must still have observed, and not changed it into the Gregorian office; besides, he was made Abbot by *Leutherius*, as all others of those parts,

Guliel. Malms. de gestis reg. Angl. l. 1. c. 2. Leutherius Ep. West-Saxon. 16.

parts, quite contrary to S. *Benedicts* rule, and not avoiding reſort of women, as ſaint *Benedicts* rule did; *fœminarum conſortia non fugiebat.* And again, he, his Monks, and Monaſtery, with the reſt, were in the ſame parts, where *Eveſham* was; where Pope *Conſtantin*, and our Kings *Kenred* and *Offa*, have witneſſed, the rule of S. *Benedict* was not then, nor long after, received. Conſtant. Pap. in Bul. Reges Kenred & Offa in diplom. Capgra. in S. Aldelmo & S. Egwino.

Concerning the monaſtical profeſſion of S. *Boniface*, it nothing belongeth to this queſtion; all granting, that S. *Benedicts* rule was received at *Eveſham*, by the Popes authority; S. *Wilfrid*, and S. *Egwine*, by Papal appointment, employed therein before the time of *Bonifacius*, and his aſſociats. And yet, whereas ſome would gather he was a Benedictin Monk, becauſe he is ſaid to have founded a monaſtery in *Germany*, by ſome thought and ſaid to be a Benedictine monaſtery; I muſt obſerve, that this proveth not, that he was indeed a Benedictine Monk; many men not Benedictin Monks, have founded monaſteries of S. *Benedicts* order. But this may be noted, that Saint *Boniface* himſelf, to Pope *Zachary*, proveth the Monks of that monaſtery were men of a ſtrict abſtinence, without fleſh, without wine, without *Sicera*, without ſervants. *Viros ſtrictæ abſtinentiæ, abſque carne, & vino, atque Sicera, & ſervis*; and this monaſtery was, *in eremo vaſtiſſimæ ſollicitudinis*, Bonifacius ep. ad Zachariam Papam.

dinis, in a wilderneſs of moſt vaſt ſolitarineſs; which little agreeth with monaſteries in Cities and Towns, and ſuch monaſteries and orders as S. *Benedict* inſtituted, or ſuch as Benedictin Monks now profeſs; it rather agreeth with the old ſtrict Britiſh, and Scottiſh orders.

I have ſpoken of S. *Wilfrid* before, how he was the firſt of all our Engliſh Biſhops, that did place S. *Gregories* office in all Churches of his Dioceſs; and his own chief monaſtery of *Rippon*, uſed *Gregorianis concentibus*, S. *Gregories* office, as the others did. We do not finde that he lived a monaſtical life, but in two places; firſt, at *Landisfarn*, of the old order, being there aſſociated to the Colledge of Monks, (*Monachorum Collegio*) when he was but fourteen years old, (*ubi quartum decimum etatis ætatis annum;*) and there ſerved God ſome years: *In quo monaſterio, cum aliquot annis Chriſto ſerviret.* And afterwards in the monaſtery of *Rippon*, provided firſt for the Scots and their order, where after, ſaint *Gregories* office was uſed. And both ſaint *Wilfrid*, and divers others, witneſs, that he was the firſt that in *England* gave ſaint *Benedicts* rule to be obſerved of any Monks; and that he did, when he was a Biſhop, and after that he had ſettled the Roman Curch-office throughout his Dioceſs, in all Churches and Monaſteries.

Bed. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. lib. 3. Capgr. in S. Wilfrido.

S. Wilfrid. orat. Gulielm. Malmsbury, l. 3. de geſt. Pontif. Hiſtor. Auguſt. Cant. in S. Wilfrido.

Wherefore

Wherefore, both by his own testimony, and divers others, he never was of S. *Benedicts* rule or order; for he being the first giver of that rule in *England*, to Monks, no man gave it to him, and Monks with him, to live under, before: otherwise he; and all the rest so witnessing, had said and written an untruth, whilst they testifie that he was the first giver of that rule there to Monks. Nor do we find that he ever gave that rule to Monks there; but after he had been Bishop many years; and that onely at one time, and in one place, *Evesham* in *Worcester* shire by the Popes authority, *Apostolica freetus authoritate*; which, by the same authority, and witness of Pope *Constantin*, was the first time and place, wherein S. *Benedicts* rule was received in those parts, where you may note, that far otherwise then in S. *Benedicts* rules S. *Wilfrid* disposed of the Abbies and Monasteries under him, when he was Bishop, and placed rulers in them all: *Præpositos omnibus Cœnobiis ordinavit.* And to testifie to all, that he was no Benedictin Monk at any time; nor of any new order, nor founded any such monastery, but according to old Rules, Orders, and Fathers, it was so publickly engraven, and witnessed in his Epitaph upon his Tomb, from the time of his Funeral, in these expres's words: *Inque locis istis monachorum examina crebra colligit, ac monitis*

Guli Malms. lib. 3. de gest. Pontif.

Epitaphium S. Wilfridi. Bed Histor. Eccles. l. 5. c. 20.

cavit

cavit quæ regula Patrum sedulus instituit.

And by this it is evident, that not any one of the next three Glories of *England*, which these men reckon, (to wit, S. *Benedict Biscop*, S. *Bede*, and S. *Alcuine*,) was of saint *Benedicts* order; nor any monastery wherein any of them lived, either at S. *Augustins* of *Canterbury*, or in S. *Benedict Biscops* monasteries of *Wire* and *Tarwin*; for in these S. *Gregories*, or the Roman office was used as well as in their Churches, both in *Kent*, and *Northumberland*, as is evident before, by S. *Wilfrid* his means, as far his jurisdiction reached. And S. *Benedict Biscop*, was as diligent therein, as he, both using that office with his Monks in *Kent*, when he was Abbot of S. *Augustins* monastery there, before S. *Adrian*; and employing *John Archi-Cantor* of S. *Peters* Church in *Rome*, and Abbot of S. *Martins* there, to settle the Roman office and manner of singing in those his own Northern Monasteries.

Adripas Wiri, &, Giri vel Girui.

The said saint *Benedict Biscop*, was first a professed Monk in *Lyrinum*; and by our best Benedictin Writers, long before S. *Aigulphus*, the first Benedictin Abbot in that place, came thither. And to manifest he was not of saint *Benedicts* rule, prescribing only twelve months for probation, he was there *per biennium*, two years in probation; and then Abbot of *Canterbury*, where he was displaced by saint *Theodor*, who placed

Flor. Wigorn. Chronic. an. 674.667.671. Matth. Westm. Chron. an. 703 681.

ced S. *Adrian* there for his succeſſor; which ſaint *Benedicts* rule could not allow, nor to rule there, nor any where elſe, but according to ſaint *Benedicts* rule, and not *Abbatis Jure*, as Abbot, not ſubject to any common rule, as the old Benedictin Monks ſay, ſaint *Benedict Biſcop* ruled the monaſtery at *Canterbury* two years. *Venerabilis Abbas Benedictus, (qui & Biſcopius) ubi duobus annis monaſterium ſancti Petri Apoſtoli Abbatis Jure praeſſet, cui in monaſterii regimen ſucceſſit Adrianus Abbas*, whom S. *Adrian* ſucceeded there in like regiment. Florent. Wig. an. 672.

Concerning which ſaint *Benedict Biſcop*, you are farther to obſerve, that having his two monaſteries in *Northumberland*, whereof the one was founded before this time, and had the rule thereof preſcribed by him four years before his monaſtery dedicated to ſaint *Paul*, was founded in the year 673. *anno dominiſexcentiſimo ſeptuageſimo tertio, Monaſterium beati Pauli Apoſtoli conſtruxit; quarto anno à fundatione monaſterii S. Petri ſuper ripam Were fluminis*: the rule of both his monaſteries being one and the ſame, given by the Abbot and Founder of them S. *Benedict Biſcop*; both for himſelf, and his Monks, whereof ſaint *Bede* here ſpoken of, was one, living under the ſame with ſix hundred other Monks of the ſame monaſteries, was not ſaint *Benedicts* rule, nor any ſuch other general

neral rule; but a monasterial rule there, both for the Abbot and Monks, which S. *Benedict Biscop* had taken, and gathered out of the certain statutes and orders of old Monasteries; *non pro suo capite decreta nobis statuens, sed antiquorum statuta certissima Monasteriorum, quin peregrè didicerat, sibi suisque observanda proponens.* And this rule with the priviledges of the two monasteries, was confirmed by Pope *Agatho*.

Bed. Tom. 7. in homiliis, hom. S. Bened. Episcop. Sur. 12. die Januar.

Out of which we are assured, that neither of these two worthies of *England*, S. *Benedict Biscop*, or S. *Bede*, was, or could be a Benedictin Monk. And the same is as certain of S. *Alcuine* Monk, and afterwards Abbot of S. *Augustins* monastery in *Canterbury*; after that, S. *Adrian* had ruled not by S. *Benedicts* rule, but far otherwise, *Abbatis jure*. And certain it is, that this S. *Alcuine* was, by great authority, placed afterwards Abbot of S. *Martins* monastery at *Toures*, over Monks of S. *Martins* order there; whereas most certain it is, both by the rule of S. *Benedict* himself, Pope *Eugenius*, and twenty Benedictine *Cistertian* Abbots, that no Benedictin Monk might rule Monks of another order: *Dominus autem Papa, & Cistercienses Abbates, ordinis sui Monachos aliorum religioni praesse non licere dixerunt*: and consequently, as certain it is, that none of those were of saint *Benedicts* order. And so, by the contenders for

Eugenius Papa & Abbates Cistercienses apud Capgrav. in S. Gilberto Sigeberti Chr. an. 1107.

for Benedictins, we muſt place both the monaſtery of S. *Auguſtin* in *Canterbury*, and thoſe of S. *Benedict Biſcop* in the North, with their Monks and Abbots, living by monaſterial rules.

Their next named demonſtration, the third in number, and tenth called Reaſon, is from the chief monaſteries founded in *England*, in the age of S. *Auguſtin*, their falſly ſuppoſed Benedictin ar hath been proved. *Tertia demonſtratio ex præcipuis Monaſteriis ipſa Auguſtini ætate fundatis*; and they exemplifie in *Ely*, of S. *Etheldred*, *Eveſham*, of S. *Egwine*, *Glaſtenbury*, the greateſt of all, S. *Auguſtins* of *Canterbury*, S. *Mildreds* in the Iſle of *Thannet*, and S. *Milburgis*, her ſiſter; *Terreſie*, and *Barking* of S. *Erkenwald*; *Weſtminſter*, of S. *Mellitus*; *Chriſts Church* at *Canterbury*, and the reſt of the Cathedral monaſteries. Hitherto is their own reckoning and account, though too too much miſtaken; for excepting S. *Auguſtins* at *Canterbury*, *Weſtmonaſter*, *Chriſts Church* at *Canterbury*, and *Ely*; not any one of thoſe Churches, or monaſteries, was founded in the age, and life of S. *Auguſtin*, nor till many years after his death, by all Writers. And of thoſe four, S. *Auguſtins*, and *Chriſts Church* at *Canterbury*, being in *Kent*, (where, by what is proved before, onely the Roman Eccleſiaſtical office, was then uſed,) there

is

is no hope or possibility to find any Benedictin office in them, or in any Church, or monastery deduced from, and agreeing with them; such as *Westmonaster* was founded by *Mellitus*, one of the same mission, monasterial order, and Ecclesiastical office, and use, that the others were of.

So we must say of the monastery of *Ely*, if we will hold with them, that say, there was a monastery there founded by S. *Augustin*, and King *Ethelbert*, (others denying it.) *In primitiva Anglorum Ecclesia in honore semper virginis Mariæ Monasterium ibi (in regione Ely) fuerat fundatum per Beatum Augustinum*; for that being founded by him, that only used, & delivered to other Monks and regular Clergy-men there placed, the Roman office only to be used by them, (which Benedictin Monks, neither did, nor might use) could not be of S. *Benedicts* order. And our Antiquaries, which hold such a monastery was then founded there, confirm it farther, when they immediatly add, *Cujus operis Rex Ethelbertus fundator primus ministros Deo servientes instituit.* Clergy-men ministring to God, were instituted in that place by King *Ethelbert*; which manner of speech is not used in Antiquities for Benedictin Monks: *Capgrave* also, is a manifest good witness, that this was the institution of that monastery, in ancient Charters, (Writings that were

Capgrav. in S. Ethelberto rege & Confess.

were old, in his time.) *Elienſis quoque monaſterii ipſe (Rex Ethelbertus) fundator in antiquis Chartis legitur*; and immediatly addeth, *quanquam beata virgo Etheldreda poſt longam deſolationem ſuam, ibi primatum mereatur.* Although the bleſſed Virgin *Etheldred*, after long deſolation, deſerveth primacy there. Which he further confirmed in the life of S. *Etheldred*, ſaying, that the Miniſters ſerving God, whom S. *Ethelbert* placed there, being driven thence by the army of King *Penda*, deſtroying that Country; *locum, ut præmittitur, virgo ſancta reparavit*; the holy Virgin S. *Etheldred*, repaired the place.

Capgrav. in S. Etheldreda Virgine.

So witneſs the old Antiquities of that monaſtery, and Proteſtants themſelves conſenting thereunto, prove there were an hundred regular Clergy-men, and Nunns, living in that monaſtery; S. *Etheldred* having been a profeſſed Nunn in the monaſtery of S. *Ebba*, Abbeſſe of Monks and Nunns, as S. *Hilda* was. Wherefore, the driving of theſe Clergy-men thence, being but in the time of King *Penda*, a little before ſaint *Etheldred* her repairing that monaſtery, we may not otherwiſe think, but that they who were firſt inſtituted there, by King *Ethelbert*, (ſtill divers of them living) were now reſtored, and ſo lived in that their former order, and manner, in which Benedictin Monks

Antiqu. Eccleſiæ Elienſis. Stows Hiſtor. Bed. Hiſtor. Eccleſiaſt. Capgrave in S. Ebba S. Hilda, & S. Etheldreda.

Monks neither did, nor might live. And our learned Antiquary *Capgrave*, who had ſeen thoſe old Charters and Antiquities, doth moſt plainly prove, that ſaint *Auguſtin*, and his aſſociats, and among them by name, ſaint *Honorius*, afterwards Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, were of ſaint *Gregories* inſtitution and order, *Gregoriani inſtitutionis*; and ſaith, *liquidè patet*, it manifeſtly appeareth it was ſo, citing the Papal teſtimony of Pope *Honorius*, living in ſaint *Gregories* time for his authority. Whence we muſt needs ſay, that the *Henrician Polidor*, that burnt ſo many of our Antiquities, and hath ſaid, (without any author or Antiquity, burnt or kept,) that it was a tradition; Benedictin Monks were placed there in the firſt founding of the ſaid monaſtery, was one of his many *Polydorian* inventions, without all authority or proof.

Capgrav. in S. Honorio Archepiſc. Cant.

Concerning the monaſtery of *Eveſham*, I have ſpoken before, that by the greateſt Papal authority, and teſtimony, it was the firſt Benedictine monaſtery in thoſe parts, after many other monaſteries founded in *England*. Our Kings *Kenred* and *Offa*, in their old Charters, with many great witneſſes, prove as much, and yet make it not perfectly founded, till about an hundred years after S. *Auguſtins* coming into *England*, when ſaint *Egwine* was Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who before was, with many o-

Chart. Regum Kenr. & Offa.

Capgrav. in S. Egwino.

thers

thers, a Monk in those parts, and hard by the place, *Evesham*; Pope *Constantin* plainly testifying, saint *Benedict* his rule was not received in those parts till that time.

The monastery of *Glastenbury*, was so far from being a Benedictin monastery in the age of S. *Augustin*, *Glastonburiense Cœnobium ætate S. Augustini fuisse Benedictinum*, and so keeping saint *Benedicts* rule and Church-office, as the contenders pretend, that it is evident by the Antiquities of that renowned place, and many worthy Historians, that the Monks there observed and used the Gregorian office, *Gregoriano officio*; when *Thurstan* was Abbot there of the said monastery, fifteen years after the coming of the *Normans* into *England*, *anno quinto decimo adventus Normannorum*, and could neither by perswasion, nor force, be brought to alter their office; but *Thurstan*, the Abbot, was condemned, and banished for attempting so to change it. Capgrav. in S. Patricio. Gul. Malmsb. lib. de antiqu. Cœnobii Glastonienſ.

I have spoken of the monasteries of saint *Erkenwald*, *Certesy*, and *Barking* before; one for himself, and the other for his sister S. *Ethelburg*, and said that he gave particular rules unto them, as saint *Bede* then living, and others prove; *Hic priusquam Episcopus factus esset, duo præclara monasteria, unum sibi, alterum sorori sua Ædelburgæ construxerat, quod utrumque regularibus disciplinis optime instituerat.* Saint Bed. Hist. l. 4. c. 6. Matt. Westm. Chr. an. 675.

Mildred, and her sister S. *Milburg*, were long after S. *Augustins* age, daughters of King *Merwalaus*; King *Ethelbert* converted by S. *Augustin*, having been their *Tritavus* great Grandfather, S. *Mildred* was brought up at the monastery of *Cale* in *France*; of an order far different from S. *Benedicts*, and her monastery after in *Thannet* in *Kent*, and her sisters, S. *Milburges*, at *Wenlock* in *Shropshire*, did both use the Roman office, with all other Churches of *England*, at that time, as before is manifest; and so could not be of S. *Benedicts* rule, this being not yet received in any of those parts.

Touching *Christs Church*, the Cathedral Metropolitan at *Canterbury*, and the other Cathedral monasteries in *England*, (as these men name our Episcopal Churches,) it is evident by all authority and testimony before, that Benedictin Monks neither did, nor then could live monastically in such Churches, nor in Cities. First, S. *Gregory* to S. *Augustins* interrogation, how the Bishops in *England*, should converse with their Clergies: (*De Episcopis qualiter cũ suis Clericis conversentur.*) Thus answereth, & directeth, *Fraternitas tua monasterii Regulis erudita*. Thy fraternity throughly learned in the rules of a monastery, or my monastery, ought not to live apart from his Priests or Clerks, *seorsum fieri non debet à Clericis suis*, in the

S Greg. resp. ad interrogata Augustini responf. 1. Bed. Hist Eccl. l. 1. c. 28. Capgra. in vit. S. Augustini.

Church

Church of the English men; which, by God, the Author, is lately brought to the faith: this conversation you must institute, which was with our Fathers in the beginning of the rising Church; among whom none of them called any thing they possessed their own, but all things were common unto them.

Here by this highest warrant, and direction, example was to be taken from the Apostles, and Bishops, with their Priests and Clergies in the beginning of the Church, divers hundreds of years before S. *Benedicts* rule was written. And when it was written, there is no such direction in any place thereof, for any to be made a Bishop, so to live; nor for those few Priests, that then were of that rule, so to live with any Bishop. Again, S. *Benedicts* rule was his own institution; whereas, then for *England*, the institution was committed to S. *Augustin*, to institute this conversation, *hanc debet conversationem instituere*; and not from saint *Benedicts* rule, but from the Primitive Church, and the Apostolick order then; as S. *Martin*, and other renowned Bishops had done before; and therefore both old and late, Catholick and Protestant Antiquaries affirm, that Priests Regular, Canons Regular, lived then with the Bishops of *England* in the Cathedral Churches or Monasteries. And of all other Monks, those of S. *Benedicts* rule, by the testimony, and under

the seal of the Pope then, and twenty true Benedictin Abbots, might neither live in that manner with Bishops, in their Cathedrall monasteries, nor in any monastery, that was in any Town or City, as the Cathedral churches, and monasteries of *England* were.

Charta 20 Abbatum Cistertienſ. & ſigil. Papæ. Sigebert in Chron. anno 1107.

The reſt of their ſurnamed demonſtrations being five in number, as the Authors themſelves confeſs, are not ſo much to prove the truth of their opinion, which they think to be proved more clear then the light, as to adorn it, and amplifie it with congruent conjectures; *Quæ deinceps producentur rationes, non tam ad probandam noſtræ ſententiæ veritatem, quæ luce clariùs jam eſt demonſtrata, quam ad eam adornandam, & congruis conjecturis amplificandam valebunt.* It doth not appear, that opinion can be demonſtrated; much leſs ſo clearly, (as here they ſay) by the former named demonſtrations; and ſo theſe adornations and conjectural amplifications, might have been ſpared.

Apoſtol. Benedict. in Anglia tract. 1. ſect. 1. pag 109. ſect. 18.

This is evident by themſelves, in their next tearmed demonſtration. *Quarta ex ipſa appellatione monachorum nigrorum.* The fourth demonſtration is, from the very naming of black Monks, where they ſay plainly, that the glory of S. *Benedicts* inſtitution in *England*, is from the name of black Monks of S. *Benedicts* order there; and that this

this name of black Monks of that order, was first given in *England*, in the Charter of King *Ethelbald*, in, and for the founding of *Croiland* monastery for such black Monks; *ad fundationem monasterii nigrorum monachorum sub nomine S. Benedicti famulantium.* This Charter is dated, with many great witnesses unto it, in the year of Christs Incarnation 716: *Firmatum est hoc Chirographum meum in anno ab Incarnatione Christi* 716. saith King *Ethelbald* in that Charter, and *Kenulphus*, a Monk, of *Evesham*, a Benedictin monastery, founded the first in those parts of that rule, some few years before; was sent for to be Abbot at *Croyland*: *accersito quantocius quodam famosæ religionis monacho Evershemensi nomine Kenulpho, ut ibi Cœnobium aggregaret.* Where if these men be in the right, that the approbation of such black Monks, was first in *England*, and at the first coming of Benedictin Monks, as their pretended demonstration is applyed by them, and thence diffused, *per reliquam Europam*, to the rest of *Europe*; we cannot possibly make the coming of S. *Benedicts* Monks thither, before the founding of *Evesham*, and *Croyland* monasteries, for such black Benedictin Monks.

Rex Ethelbaldus Char. fundat. Monasterii Croyland. Ingulph. hist. Croyland Apostol. Benedict. supra.

But indeed I dare not give the change of the colour of the habit of S. *Benedicts* rule unto any in *England*, where none then

would, or could change the colour of the habit which S. *Benedict* instituted, and S. *Gregory* approved: wherefore seeing saint *Benedict* did not ordain any black coloured habit, or of any certain colour, but such as was easiest to be had, and cheapest; which is not black, but the natural colour of the stuff without tincture, or dying: (*De quarum rerum omnium colore aut grossitudine, non causentur Monachi; sed quales inveniri possunt in Provincia, in qua habitant, & quod vilius comparari potest.*) *England*, where stuffs of the natural colour were most cheap and easie to be had, could not be the means or motive of changing saint *Benedicts* rule herein, if any then, had power there to do it. But because we find saint *Gregory*, *in sancta synodo*, in a Councel, did approve saint *Benedicts* rule; as it was to be used; and we find that saint *Gregory* did allow black Monks in a Roman Councel; we must rather say, this change of colour into black in saint *Benedicts* rule, did come from saint *Gregories* allowance, and highest authority; which being done long after saint *Gregories* rule was instituted, and after the mission of his Monks to *Canterbury*; the very confession of these men, of black Benedictin Monks being in *England*, and not before the foresaid foundations, (which were long after saint *Augustins* coming thither,) evidently proveth by themselves, that

S. Benedict. in Regula cap. 55

that neither ſaint *Gregory*, nor his miſſionary Monks, were, or could be of S. *Benedicts* habit, order, or rule.

Their next, and fifth named *Demonſtration*, is called by them, *quinta Demonſtratio ex variis conjecturis*; the fifth Demonſtration from divers conjectures. But I conjecture, that divers, and all learned men, do not only conjecture, but know there can be no ſuch demonſtration; therefore I paſs it over in this place, as proving nothing.

The ſixth, and next named *Demonſtration*, is, *non poſſe aliam originem ordinis in Anglia, nec alium ordinem aſſignari poſſe primis Apoſtolis; & quando nam alii ordines in Angliam ſunt ingreſſi. No other beginning of S.* Benedicts *order in* England, *can be aſſigned, nor any other order for our firſt Apoſtles, and when other orders entred into* England. To this, ſatisfaction is given before, with aſſignment of an other, far later time, with place, perſons, and other circumſtances, by the greateſt authorities, and teſtimonies. And theſe men themſelves, in their pretended *Demonſtration* of black Benedictin Monks, have done the like: Yea, their Proteſtant Antiquaries, and witneſſes, have teſtified, that the year of every other monaſtical orders entrance into *England*, is certainly known; but for the order of ſaint *Benedict*, it is not known when it entred, but onely that it came thither in that age, or

hundredth of years, wherein S. *Augustin* came; whereas the year of his coming (being the year of Christ 596.) is certainly known unto them, as to all other Antiquaries. And it is sufficiently declared before, that S. *Augustin*, and his associats, were of the learned Apostolick order of S. *Gregory*.

This also answereth their next named seventh *Demonstration*, taken from the monastical profession it self of S. *Gregory*. *Septima demonstratio ex ipso D. Gregorii monachatu*; for it is evident before, there was great difference between S. *Gregories*, and S. *Benedicts* rule: S. *Gregories* holy Apostolick learned rule, (giving then place to none in the world,) being in *Rome* renowned, before any Benedictin Monks were there by any account.

Their last named *Demonstration*, taken from the testimony of skilful Protestant antiquaries of *England*; *Octava Demonstratio ex testimonio peritorum Antiquariorum Angliæ*, hath answered it self, and all the rest before. None of those Antiquaries knowing the time of Benedictin Monks first coming into *England*; yet knowing, and certainly setting down with others, the time, place, whence, whither, with the persons, and all circumstances of S. *Gregories* Monks, mission, and coming thither. They also agree with our Councel, and best

Antiqua-

Antiquaries before, that all the Churches of *England*, and monasteries there, did quite differ from S. *Benedicts* rule, and Monks in S. *Theodores* time; and yet all their rules and orders, whether monasterial, or general, were then approved, and allowed by all the Arch-bishops, and Bishops of the Land, to be kept and observed by all Monks whersoever professed, and living in them; and this in publick councel concluded, subjecting all monasteries and Monks unto it. And again, with all ancient Writers, they set down the conversion of the Kings, and Kingdoms of *England* to Christ, with Churches, and monasteries founded in them, at, and before this time. So doe their other Protestant Antiquaries with full consent, one for the rest, and their latest Cantabrigian Writer, delivering himself in these words.

Cambden Britan. in Kent, Essex, Sussex, East-angles, North-angles Northumberland. The Protestans Theat. of Great Britain in the same kingdoms. John Weaver, Funeral monument, pag. 61,62.

About the year six hundred, Christian Religion in this Island, being almost totally eclipsed, by several persecutions, Pope Gregory *the first, being zealously moved for the conversion of this English Nation, sent hither* Augustin *the Monk, with other his associats, to kindle anew the sparks of Christianity, which were covered in the cynders of Pagans desolation.* Ethelbert, *being as then King of* Kent, *received holy baptism by the said* Augustin, *being principally induced thereunto, by* Berta *his wife, and Queen,*

Queen, a Christian, daughter to Chilperick, *King of* France. *Christianity being thus received by him, the most potent King of the Saxons:*

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

The good example of the King,
His people all to Christ did bring:

The succeeding Saxon Kings followed his heavenly steps, endeavouring all they might, to overthrow the synagogue of Sathan, by breaking down the abominable Idols, throughout the whole Island. Edwine *King of* Northumberland; Carpenwald, *King of the East-English*; Sebert, *King of the East-Saxons*; Kinigild, *King of the West-Saxons*; Penda, *King of the Mercians*; Ethelulph, *King of the South-Saxons*; *in the space of not much above threescore years, after the conversion of King* Ethelbert, *were converted (God so wrought with them) from Paganism, and Idolatry, unto the belief, and worship of our Lord Jesus Christ; and the Christian faith was publickly practised in all their dominions. These and others the Saxon Kings, for sanctity of life, are ranged before all the Kings, and Potentates of the world. For such was their fervent zeal in Religion, that he thought himself most happy, who in pious acts, hard penance, weary pilgrimages, and retired solitude,*

spent

spent the various course of life, which made many of them to exchange a Palace royal, and a sceptre Imperial for a poor Cell, and a Monkish staff: to forsake their Crown and Kingdom, and to live as pilgrims in a forain Country, to lose their own lives in warlike opposition against Pagans, and Infidels, thereby to live in Heaven, amongst the noble army of Martyrs. And lastly, it moved them, and other great personages, following their pious examples, to erect and amply endow religious foundations: as Churches, Chappels, Schools, Colledges, Monasteries for the preaching, and further propagating of the Christian faith.

Hereby it is evident, and undeniable, that all the Kings, Kingdoms, and Countries of *England*, were converted to Christ, before we can find any memory or mention there, either of Monks generally following the rule of S. *Benedict*, or using the Church-service of his order, which only Monks of his rule, did, or might use. That general conversion of *England*, and Monasteries founded in all her Provinces, was before S. *Wilfrid*, could say, he first gave the rule of S. *Benedict* to be observed, and before the Churches and Monasteries of the kingdome (except those in *Kent*) had received S. *Gregories*, and the Roman Office, but used such offices there, as they might change, which S. *Benedicts* Monks could not doe;

and

and it was longer before we finde S. *Benedicts* rule received, and obſerved in any place of *England* or *Britain*.

Bed. Hiſtoria. Gul. Malmsb. Matth. Weſt. Chro. Flor. Wigor. Chro. Veremünd. Hiſt. Sco. Hec. Boeth. Scot. Hiſt. manuſc. antiq. Capgra. in S. Edwino, S. Mellito, S. Paulino, S. Oſwaldo, S. Aidano, S. Cheadda, S. Egwino, Conſtant. Pap. in privilegio monaſter. Eveſham ad S. Birthwald, Archiep. Cant. S. Wilfridus & S. Egwinus apud Capgrav. in S. Egwino. Reges Kenred & Offa in chart.

And although we find ſome alteration, or defection in, or from Chriſtian Religion, in the Kingdom of the Eaſt-Saxons, after the death of King *Sebert* there, & find S. *Mellitus* their Biſhop of *London*, to have forſaken his See and Dioceſs: and again, that in the kingdome of *Northumberland*, after the death of S. *Edwine*, their King, there was ſo great a change, that S. *Paulinus* Archbiſhop of *York*, returned into *Kent* with Queen *Ethelburg*. Yet it is moſt certain in Hiſtories, (and denied by none) that all *Northumberland* was quite and moſt happily converted to Chriſt, and divers monaſteries there founded of the old Brittiſh and Scottiſh orders, by S. *Aidan*, Biſhop of thoſe parts, and his aſſociats in the time of King *Oſwald*: in *Eſſex* alſo, S. *Ceadda*, one of S. *Aidans* diſciples, was Biſhop of *London*, and founded monaſteries in that kingdom, of the ſame old order, they were of in *Northumberland*. And all this was performed, before the ſaid limited time of 60 years, after the converſion of the King of *Kent*, S. *Ethelbert*; and many years before, any one monaſtery of Benedictin Monks is, by our Antiquaries, remembred to have certainly been any where in *England*.

The

The one and Thirtieth Chapter.

The first coming and receiving S. Benedicts rule in any place of Britain, *was with honour unto it: But not from* Rome, *or* Italy; *nor in* Kent, *or* Canterbury; *but from* Floriacum *in* France; *and at* Evesham *in* Worcester*shire*: *But not till about an hundred years after the coming of S.* Anguſtin *into* England, *and when all the kingdom was converted.*

BUT to give right honour to the holy rule and order of S. *Benedict*, in due place, as I have done to others before; I will now entertain it first in *England*, with far more certain true honour unto it, then I can find in any of them, that would intrude it sooner into this kingdom. And being that we find by S. *Benedicts* rule it self, and by so many learned Abbots, and Papal testimony before, that S. *Benedicts* rule and order was not by him instituted for Cities, Towns,

S. Bened. in Reg. cap 48.

Girald. Camb. Itinerar. Cam. l. 1. Guliel. Malmsb. lib. 1. de gestis Pontificum.

Towns, and Castles, but for places remote from concourse of people, and in poverty, for the Monks thereof to live by their hand-labour, and so to be truly Monks by his rule, as it thus declareth: *Qui tunc verè monachi sunt, si de labore manuum suarum vivunt.* which is also confirmed by British, and other Writers, avouching, that S. *Benedicts* rule was instituted in poverty, and so continued in the beginning most laudable, till riches and abundance, corrupted it afterwards: *Benedicti Regulam in primeva paupertate laudabilissimam, rerum opulentia postmodum & copia corruperunt.* It follows, that if we will fetch S. *Benedicts* rule from any forain countrey, and place it in *England*, in such laudable and commendable state, as it was in the first best poverty thereof; we must neither fetch it from any rich monastery, in any great city, such as *Rome*, and S. *Gregories* monastery there was; nor go about to settle it in any such City, or Monastery in *England*, such as *Canterbury*, and S. *Augustins* Monastery there were: nor must we seek to bring it thither from *Italy* in S. *Gregories* time, nor till it had a long time after another confirmation by Pope *Zachary*, (not Pope till the year of Christs Nativity, 741.) without some extraordinary, and highest Papal allowance, which we do not find in Antiquities, till Pope *Constantin*, (not Pope till the 708 year,) first

S. Bened. in Reg. cap. 48.

Girald. Camb. Itinerar. Cam. l. 1. Gulielm. Malmsb. lib. 1. de gestis Pontificum.

first allowed, and approved it to be received in *England*; at *Evesham*, in *Worcestershire*.

For it is evident by S. *Gregories* authentical priviledge to *Sublacus* monastery, of that rule in *Italy*, that he did in general confirm it no further, then for such parts of *Italy*, where they used the Latin tongue, in which S. *Benedicts* rule was written, *per diversas partes Italiæ, ubicunque latina lingua legeretur*; which could not be for *England*, so far from *Italy*, and not understanding S. *Augustin*, and his associats (which were not English, converted and trained up in S. *Gregories* discipline) speaking, and preaching in the Latin tongue, and but by interpreters; much less could the English that became Monks in their Countrey, so soon, and with those Italian Monks enter into, and vow to keep a rule, then only written in the Latin tongue, which none but scholars could understand, it being not translated into English for the ignorant English to understand, by any Antiquity, till long time after the deaths of all S. *Gregories* disciples, misioners to them.

S. Greg. in privilegio Sublacens.

And in particular, for Benedictin monasteries, he confirmeth only those twelve, which S. *Benedict* founded in *Campania*, where were but twelve Monks in every monastery. *Et confirmo duodecim Monasteria, quæ ipse sanctus constituit*: and no other in what

S. Gregorius supra.

place

place soever as a Benedictin monastery, or of that rule: And never did any Writer, think of bringing S. *Benedicts* order into *England*, from all, or any of those little monasteries. Wherefore (*Cassinum*, the chief monastery of S. *Benedict*, lying now desolate and destroyed, as others at that time; S. *Gregory* then finding no more, of that rule or institution, left in peace, and order to be called Benedictin monasteries, or of S. *Benedict*,) we must seek to a later time, and place, of such order, and foundation, to fetch Benedictin Monks into *England*, nor must we fetch them from any City, or Town, as I said before, nor seek to place them in any such there.

The contenders for Benedictine Monks here, have before confessed, that the time of their first coming into *England*, is unknown to them; only it is certainly known, that they were there within one hundred years of S. *Augustins* coming thither. Therefore, to give content, I will set down the first place, whence by the best Antiquaries, and Antiquities of *Britain*, they came thither, and the first place, where they were entertained there, within that hundred years.

Not only particular Antiquaries, even the ancient and best Benedictin Writers of *England*, but the common tradition and church of *England*, in the publick office thereof, giveth

giveth great honour to the monastery of S. *Benedict* at *Floriacum* in *France*; both places celebrating the translation of the relicks of S. *Benedict* thither, (with great honour in the time of *Clodoveus*, son of King *Dagobert*, beginning his reign in 645 year of Christ, and ending in the year 662.) with office of nine lessons upon the eleventh day of *July*, *5 Idus Julii Translatio S. Benedicti 9 lectionum.* Which custom, and use of the Church of *England*, above others, in celebrating S. *Benedicts* translation to *Floriacum* monastery, proveth; it acknowledged more obligation and duty unto it, then to any other monastery of S. *Benedict*. Breviar. Sarum in festo translationis S. Benedicti die 11 July.

And the old Antiquaries of *England*, even Benedictins, prove, it was an old common custome, for English men, that affected S. *Benedicts* order, to profess themselves Monks in that *Floriacum* monastery in *France*; and plainly call it above all others, S. *Benedicts* monastery; and give their reasons, because the beginning of that order came first into *England*, from that place: There, *Oswaldus*, Arch-bishop of *York* (dying 27 of *Februar. anno* 992. thirty two years of his consecration) became first a Monk, and was of that monastery many years, as others also were. *Oswaldus non exili progenie oriundus, nipote Odonis Archepiscopi Nepos, apud Floriacum in Gallia alteratus est in monachum familiari, per id* Guliel. Malms. de gestis Pontificum Angl.

tempus Anglis consuetudine, ut si qui boni afflati essent desiderio in beatissimi Benedicti monasterio cœnobialem susciperent habitum, à quo religionis hujusmodi manavit exordium: In hoc ergo loco Juventutis fregit lubricum multis annis religioni & literis serviendo. Where the Antiquary speaking of *Floriacum* in *France*, of S. *Benedicts* order; which above all other places, was affected by the English that were addicted to that order, as being the place and monastery, (*monasterio & loco*) whence that order came first into *England*; he makes that the chief reason and motive, why the English men desired chiefly to be professed in that very monastery and place, of that rule, above all others, saying; *In hoc ergo loco.*

The old Benedictin Monks of *Floriacum*, testifie also, and confirm as much, when they write and prove, that the English did desire monastical rules from that monastery of *Floriacum*, and to be professed there in that rule, for that reason, and also because Saint *Gregory* their Apostle, approved the rule of S. *Benedict*, that was used, and observed there; and they speak particularly of Bishop *Oswald*, among others there, professed a Monk of that order, for that cause. *Legatio gentis Anglorum ad Floriacense venit Cœnobium, postulans aliquem sibi sapientum concedi virorum. Eadem quippe Natio ad amorem*

Aimonius Floriacens. in vita S. Albonis Apost. Benedict tract. 1. sec. 1. p. 105.

morem S. Benedicti memoratique loci duabus ex causis accessit: una quidem quia Beatus Papa Gregorius, missis ad eam fidei Christi Prædicatoribus, ejusdem dilecti Domini Benedicti Regulam observandam specialiùs insinuavit.

One of which testimony of *Aimoinus*, heretofore cited, in my four and twentieth Chapter, with my former allegations and deductions, as I see an utter impossibility of S. *Augustins*, and his associats, being Benedictin Monks, they being professed (as hath been often said) in another order, and sent Preachers into *England*, before S. *Gregory* approved, and consequently, *à fortiori*, before he recommended the observation of S. *Benedicts* rule unto any; the cited Antiquary also seeming to say, that the love of the English to S. *Benedicts* order, was not much ancienter then their affection to *Floriacum* monastery, whilst he joins both together, saying, *Eadem quippe Natio ad amorem sancti Benedicti memoratique loci &c.* So on the other side, I see an exceeding great probability, or rather a kind of moral certainty, that S. *Benedicts* rule and order came first into *England*, from his honorable monastery of *Floriacum* in *France*, long after the total conversion of *England* by S. *Gregories* Missioners, assisted by divers other British and Scottish Apostolick men (to whom the present English, and their glo-

rious Anceſtors, have ever ſtood obliged for their Chriſtianity) without any Benedictin Monks joining with them in that heroick work; and without any likelihood or probabily left, of S. *Benedicts* order firſt coming into *England*, from *Caſſinum*, which both then, and for many years after, lay quite deſtroyed, deſolate, and ſolitary, without all religion, till afterwards it was renued, and reſtored to S. *Benedicts* rule and order, by Pope *Zacharias*, with the rule confirmed by him.

The *Terminus à quo*, or place, whence S. *Benedicts* order came firſt into *England*, being thus pitcht upon; we are according to our promiſe, to determine the *Terminus ad quem*; or place whether it was firſt brought, or where it found firſt entertainment in *England*; firſt, obſerving that the renowned monaſtery *Floriacum*, was not ſo ſpecially ſtyled S. *Benedicts* monaſtery, till after the tranſlation of S. *Benedicts* reliques thither: which happening in the time of *Clodoveus*; the ſecond of that name, King of *France*, and ſon to *Dagobertus*, was by the beſt Engliſh Benedictin Writers, in the year of Chriſt, 674. by *Fluentius Wigornienſis*, after the death of Saint *Gregory* ſeventy years, *ab obitu Gregorii uſque ad tranſlationem S. Benedicti, anni* 70. and by *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* 7 years after, *anno gratiæ* 681. when his monaſtery at

Flor. Wigorn. Chron. anno 674.

Matth. Weſtm. Chron. anno 681.

Caſſinum

Cassinum, whence his body was removed, lay desolate *in solitudinem redactum*:

Not long after this, we find *Evesham* in *Worcester* shire founded. The Antiquities of that place, testifie it was founded about the year of Christ, 691. *circa annum gratiæ* 691. The contenders for Benedictins confess, that S. *Egwine* built the monastery of *Evesham*, about the year of Christ, 692. *sanctum Egwinum monasterium de Evesham construxisse circa annum gratiæ* 692: The same is testified in the old Manuscript Register of the Priory of *Pountry*. Another old Manuscript, saith S. *Egwin*, Bishop of *Worcester*, founded it in the year 692. *anno Domini* 692. S. *Egwinus tertius in ordine Wicciorum Episcopus Monasterium quod Evesham dicitur construxit*. So have the Annals of *Tukesbury*. All these accompts are confessed by the contenders for Benedictins, to have been before S. *Wilfrid*, publickly declared, that he was the first that gave S. *Benedicts* rule to be observed by Monks in *England*: the Antiquities of *Evesham*, and others, testifying that he gave it to be observed there, by Papal authority, *Apostolica fultus authoritate*.

Annales Evesham, Cestr. l. 4 Apostol. Benedict. trac. 1. sec. 1. p. 41.

Manusc. Reg. Priorat. S. Joan. Evangelistæ de Ponte fracto. Pont-fract.

Aliud Manuscript. antiqu.

Annales Tuke-sburienſ.

Manuscrip antiqu. in vit. S. Wilfridi.

Capgr. in eod. & in vita S. Egwini.

The aforesaid *Evesham*, is acknowledged by all Antiquities, to have been a Benedictin Monastery, even from the first foundation of it; and the Antiquaries bring S.

Benedicts rule first to that place, with great honour, heavenly direction, and miracles; as Popes, Kings, Bishops, and other Christians, generally interpreted it. For to S. *Egwine* Bishop of *Worcester*, the third of that See, being wonderfully devoted to that place, (*Evesham*) where anciently in the reign of the Britains, had stood a little Church, in the time of his great devotions there, the blessed Virgin *Mary*, mother of God, miraculously, and in great glory appeared, with two other Virgins, commanding there to be founded a monastery, and to interpret of what rule, and order it should be, by his own, and all others interpretations; she appeared unto him with a Book, and Cross in her hand; with which Cross, she blessed him; and for this cause, (that Benediction being interpreted to have relation to S. *Benedict*, and his rule) he caused a monastery of Benedictins chiefly, to be founded in that place. *Qua Cruce Egwinum adorantem benedixit. Ex hac causa Cœnobium Benedictinorum, hoc pulcherrimum loco à fundamentis erexit.*

Gul. Malmsb. in Manusc. l. 4. de gest. Pontificum Harpfield Hist. Eccles. octav. sæcul. c. 18.

This was divers years before that monastery was by Pope *Constantin* confirmed, for a monastery of S. *Benedicts* rule, and for the first of that order in those parts: so witness not only the Antiquities before related, but also the old Benedictin Monks,

Flo-

Florentius of *Worcester*, in the same parts, and *Matthew* of *Westmonastery*, relating the foundation thereof, before S. *Egwine* his going to *Rome*, with the Kings *Kenred* and *Offa*, Benefactor to the said Benedictin monastery, to obtain Pope *Constantins* priviledge unto it. *Egwinus Wiccio-rum Præsul tertius, cum Rege Merciorum Kenred, & orientalium Rege Offa, Romam veniens, Monasterium, quod in Wigornensi territorio constructerat, ut ab improborum irruptione securius illud redderet, à Papa Constantino libertatis Privilegium impetravit.* So doth Pope *Constantin* himself prove, writing to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, S. *Brithwald*, that he had sent S. *Egwin* to *Rome* twice, about that matter, when he was Bishop of *Worcester*, being consecrated Bishop there in the year 693: *Venerabilem virum Egwinum Episcopum; quem bis tua fraternitas ad Apostolicam sedem misit:* and acknowledging, that he, upon S. *Egwins* relation of the Vision, and apparition of the blessed Virgin unto him, for founding of the said monastery of saint *Benedicts* rule, did fully believe it to be certainly true: *De visione illa, immo aperta ostensione, qua se Beata Virgo Maria ei se manifestavit, aquè ita certum esse tenemus, quemadmodum de viri bonitate non dubitamus.*

Flor. Wigorn. Chron. Mat. Westm. Chron.

Flor. Wigorn. chr. an. 708. Matth. Westm. Chr. an. 712.

Constant. Papa Epist. ad S. Brithwald. Archiep. Cant.

Where, going on in his Epiſtle, he admoniſheth S. *Brithwald*, to aſſemble in thoſe parts, where the Viſion happened, a Councel of all the Biſhops, and Religious perſons in holy Orders, together with the Princes, and Nobles of all *England*, *Quibus in nomine Domini congregatis, denunciamus*: "To whom ſo gathered together, in the "name of our Lord, we denounce that two "Kings of *England*, *Kenred* and *Offa*, with "whom the ſaid Biſhop came to *Rome*, did "in our preſence beſtow very many of their "benefits for the place of the ſaid Viſion of "their Princely liberality, confirmed with "Apoſtolical authority; that a congrega-"tion of Monks, according to the rule of "the renowned Father *Benedict*, which "yet is not in thoſe parts, may be there in-"ſtituted, and continually ſerve Chriſt. *Quatenus ibi congregatio Monachorum ſecundum Regulam memorandi Patris Benedicti, quæ minus in illis partibus adhuc habetur, poſſit inſtauri, & indeſinenter Chriſto famulari.* "Theſe donations and bene-"fits, the forenamed Kings have namely "determined in their priviledge, and procu-"red to be confirmed of us, *& à nobis corroborari fecerunt.* "Therefore, O belo-"ved Brother; that Chriſt may by all means "be glorified, ſeek the profit of Chriſt, and "exerciſe the work of Chriſt in Councel,

"pub-

" publiſhing the viſion ſhewed from God,
" the Apoſtolick Authority, the Kingly libe-
" rality, and donations; thy own, the
" Clergies, and Peoples aſſent, and favour.
" Conſtitute a Fold to Chriſt, ſhewed from
" God, ſupported by Apoſtolick Authority,
" given by Kingly liberality, eſtabliſhed by
" the bleſſing of the Clergy and People.

The donations and approbations of the Kings *Kenred* and *Offa*, for founding that first Benedictin monaſtery at *Eveſham*, are ſufficiently witneſſed by this Papal priviledge and their old Charter, then written, ſetteth down their donations in particular, with the motive of the aforeſaid Viſion, and with direction for a Benedictin monaſtery to be founded there. *Quatenus ibidem congregatio Monachorum, ſecundum Regulam S. Benedicti poſſit inſtaurari, & indeſinenter Chriſto famulari.* S. *Wilfrid* Arch-biſhop of *York*, (who hath publickly juſtified heretofore, that he was the firſt that gave S. *Benedicts* rule to be obſerved of Monks) did with S. *Egwin* before named Biſhop of *Worceſter*, at the conſecration of the church at *Eveſham*, publickly declare the rule of S. *Benedict* to be obſerved there, without controlment or trouble. *Conſecrato loco per S. Wilfridum Epiſcopum; Idem Wilfridus & Egwinus coram omnibus ſic locuti ſunt. Nos pracipimus in Dei Omnipotentis,*

Charta regum Offæ & Kenſedi.

Antiqu Everſhamenſ. Capgr. in S. Egwino.

potentis, & omnium virtutum Cœleſtium nomine; ut neque Rex, neque Princeps, neque ullius nominis ordinis homo, locum iſtum ſanctum diminuat; ſed ſit, ut optamus, gregibus & Dei Paſtoribus murus bene diſpoſitus, in poteſtate proprii Abbatis, ſecundum Regulam Dei & Sancti Benedicti.

Wherefore being thus aſſured by the greateſt authority of Pope, Kings, Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Peers, Clergy, and people, that the Rule of S. *Benedicts* Order was not (to repeat Pope *Conſtantins* words, ſpoken in *Rome* of *England*) *in illis partibus*, in thoſe parts, till it was received and ſettled at *Eveſham*, in the Papacy of the forenamed *Conſtantin* (which beginning in the year of Chriſt 708. continued ſix years and one month) and in the Reigns of the Engliſh Kings *Kenred*, and *Offa*; by the means and upon the motives already rehearſed, with very great honor and general applauſe of all: And ſeeing howſoever we expound or interpret thoſe words *in illis partibus*, (in *thoſe* or *theſe* parts, as they have relation to different ſituations of the ſpeaker) it is not to be found in any Antiquity, that there was any monaſtery of S. *Benedicts* order in any part of *England*, before it was ſettled as above-ſaid, at *Eveſham*; but certainly, many of other old religious rules founded in ſeveral places of *Britain*, before any Benedictin mona-

monaſtery appeared there; I find my ſelf altogether forced to yeeld the honour of Primogeniture or Precedency in poſſeſſion and profeſſion of S. *Benedicts* ſacred rule in *England*, to the ancient monaſtery of *Eveſham*, in *Worceſter* ſhire.

And with this difference to *Eveſham*, I conclude my Memorial, ſubmitting it, and whatever elſe I have written, to the correction of the Catholick Church.

The

The Contents of the *Chapters*.

HOw Britain *first received and embraced the most holy and perfect Christian life and conversation from the Apostles, in the first days of Christianity, and so persevered in observing is?* Ch. 1. p. 1.

3. Joseph of Aramathia, (*that buried Christ*) *with many disciples coming hither with him, in the 63 year of Christs Nativity lived thus monastically at* Glastenbury, *founding and leaving such holy institution there.* Ch. 2. p. 19.

Britain *had, in divers other places, monastical men, and monasteries of those times, by our best Protestant Antiquaries, and their Authors, before Ægypt had any such.* Ch. 3. p. 29.

The ancient Monks and Monastery of Bangor *in* Britain, *of no Ægyptian order, yet founders, and mother to many Monasteries in many Nations.* Ch. 4. p. 39

The old Cathedral Church at Wincheſter *from the first founding of it in King* Lucius *his time, was a monastery where the Bishop and Priests lived monastically: so were all the Cathedral Churches of* Britain *then.* Ch. 5. p. 49

Many other holy, and learned ancient monasteries in Britain, *in these times; with*

remem-

remembrance of divers of them; no Egyptian Monks in any of them. Ch.6.p.60

The holy orders and rules which S. Regulus, *Monk and Abbot in* Achaia, *brought thence into* Britain, *and settled here; and S.* Ninian, *a* Britain, *brought up at* Rome, *and thence sent Apostle hither, planted here.* Ch.7.p.70

The holy rule and order, which S. Palladius, *an Apostle in* Britain, *and before a Monk in* Greece, Syria, *and* Mount-Carmelus, *instituted, and settled here.* Ch.8.p.79

The most holy, and learned monastical rule of Lirinum, *which our Apostolick Legats, S.* Germanus, *S.* Lupus, *& S.* Severus, *brought hither, and settled here in* Britain. Ch.9 p.86

S. Patrick, *our noble* Britain, *Apostle of* Ireland, *who founded and instituted many monasteries, with their rules in* Ireland *and* Britain; *was a stranger to the monastical order of* Egypt, *but was of his Uncle S.* Martins *order, and his own, which he prescribed.* Ch.10.p.102

S. Martins *rule and order was his own institution; (not taken, or borrowed from* Egypt, *or any such extern remote place) famous, and renowned in* France, Britain, *and* Ireland. Ch.11.p.112

How S. Patrick *did institute and settle his holy Order, in, and for many other Nations besides* Britain *and* Ireland; *and this Order*

Order remained here after S. Augustins *coming.* Ch. 12. p. 123

The renowned, Apostolick, learned Order of S. Augustin, *the holy learned Doctor, famous here in* Britain, *in many renowned monasteries in these times.* Ch. 13. p. 134

The Orders, monasteries, and religious schools of divers other most learned, and religious Abbots, Pastors, and Prelates, in Britain, *in these days.* Ch. 14. p. 146

Of many renowned monasteries here where women-Abbesses ruled both Monks and Nunns. Ch. 15. p. 161

Our old Brittish *and* English *Order, strictly forbidding all meetings of Monks and women, though Nunns; and no such must come into the monasteries of Monks.* Ch. 16. p. 166.

Our old Order, wherein, and whereby both Monks and Nunns lived in one and the same monastery, separated: yet the Nuns under the rule and government of Monks. Ch. 17. p. 173

The holy, learned, Apostolick rule and order of S. Kentigern, *and his many sacred disciples in divers places, and renowned monasteries:* Ch. 18. p. 182.

The holy order, and monastical rule and profession of S. David, *famous and renowned now in this Kingdom of* Britain, Ch. 19. p. 192

The parentage, birth, and most holy educati-

on,

on, disposition, and life of S. Gregory the Great, Apostle of England, in his younger years. Ch. 20. p. 201

S. Gregories great piety, learning, and wisdom, after in his youth; and when, and how, he first began his Apostolick care of England. Ch. 21. p. 219

How after his Fathers death, so soon as he was possessed of his ample patrimony, he founded many monasteries, richly endowing them without any corporal labour, or helps from others; that so the Monks might wholly attend to their holy studies, devotions, and other religious good deeds: Ch. 22. p. 231

Wherein is proved expresly by all kind of Antiquaries, old and late, Catholick and Protestant, that S. Gregory gave the rule of his Roman monastery. Ch. 23. p. 244

How, by all the circumstances of every action or institution, the Monks of S. Gregories monasteries, especially they in Rome differed from S. Benedicts monks. Ch. 24. p. 264

Many other and great differences between the monasteries & Monks of S. Gregories learned, Apostolick rule, and others. Ch. 25. p. 290

The holy, learned order of S. Columba, by which very many, or the most parts of Provinces and persons of England, were converted to the faith of Christ; and monasteries founded in many places, Ch. 26. p. 318

The holy rule of S. Brendan, dictated unto him

[illegible] by an Angel, and continuing a long time, and in many Countries; with divers other holy, and learned rules of, and from this Kingdom. Ch. 27. p. 329

The Apostolick rule and order of S. Columbanus, *living in Monastical, holy profession, in the kingdom of great* Britain; *with many English, both men and women, living in the same, both in* England, *and other Countries.* Ch. 28. p. 338

Britain, *besides these so many renowned, general monasterial orders, more then in any other kingdom, had also many particular monasterial rules.* Ch. 29. p. 353

That not any one Monastery, Monasterial Church, or Monastical man, urged by the late contenders for Benedictins, *till about an hundred years after S.* Augustins *coming into* England, *was, or could be of S.* Benedicts *rule or order.* Ch. 30. p. 372

The first coming and receiving S. Benedicts *rule in any place of* Britain, *was with honour unto it: But not from* Rome, *or* Italy; *nor in* Kent, *or* Canterbury; *but from* Floriacum *in* France; *and at* Evesham *in* Worcester *shire: But not till about an hundred years after the coming of S.* Augustin *into* England, *and when all the kingdom was converted.* Ch. 31. p. 397

FINIS.